

Humani Generis Unitas

THE COMPLETE TEXT

Foreword

In a letter written to Father Francis Xavier Talbot on 18 September 1938, John LaFarge indicates that he hopes to leave Paris for Rome on 20 September, "taking with [him] the completed work. Unfortunately, we still have to retype to make it presentable." The documents that are in our possession or that we have been able to consult show that LaFarge left Paris carrying several copies of the draft encyclical, written in English, French, and German, and covered with deletions and annotations.¹ In Rome, LaFarge made the whole "presentable" by putting it in the form of an "abridged" French version, the first page of which bears the following annotation, in LaFarge's hand:

HUMANI GENERIS UNITAS

Pope Pius XI—The Ineditum

(cf. declaration in his address quoted by
Osservatore Romano, August, 1938)

Authentic and complete (French) text.²

Hence we have chosen to publish this version.

To try to establish as precisely as possible the role played by

each of the three men who collaborated in producing this work, let us review the documents at our disposal:

—an English version covered with manuscript annotations, deletions, interpolations, cross-references, bracketed passages—additions that all appear to us to be in LaFarge's hand;

—a shorter English version, corresponding exactly to what remains of the longer one once the emendations burdening it are eliminated—we consider this version a fair copy of the first;

—a French version corresponding exactly to the "short" English version, one of them—but which one?—clearly being a translation of the other.

When compared with the other two, the longer English version appears to be a working copy. It obviously consists of three fragments, of which the third was written on a different typewriter:

—The first fragment (fifty-five pages, numbered 1–55) runs from paragraphs 1 to 70. On the flyleaf, LaFarge has written by hand: "Translation not yet made of paragraphs 77 to 110 inclusive. NB—1) Translate "Nationalité Terrienne" by *territorial nationality*—when word first appears, add word *people* in parenthesis. 2) Extensive *totality*—or *totality of extension* is preferable to extensive *totalitarianism*, etc."³

—The second fragment (nine pages, numbered 1 to 9), which begins with the subtitle "Race and Racism," runs from paragraph 111 to paragraph 130.

—The third fragment, which runs from paragraph 131 to the end (paragraph 179), is much more chaotic—the pagination changes several times, and there are numerous deletions, corrections, interpolations, references, and handwritten or typed additions.

Examination of the annotations in this copy seems to show that the first fragment is a translation of an earlier text, probably written in French (or possibly in German). However, the direc-

tion of the translation appears to be reversed in the last two fragments: they seem to have been first written in English, and later translated into French.

To compare our own observations with the conclusions at which Edward Stanton and Johannes Schwarte arrive in their doctoral dissertations: Although Stanton did not have the German version at hand, after a detailed analysis of the three copies at his disposal⁴ he concludes that within the final text there are two clearly distinct parts: "The first 75 pages of the final English version (up to the treatment of race and 'racialism') are the work of the specialist Father Gundlach; the remaining fifty pages are the work of Father LaFarge; Father LaFarge corrected various passages in the work of the author of the first part of the document—A comparison between the French version and the two English versions shows that the emendations proposed in the first section were in fact incorporated into the final French and English versions—Of course, it does not necessarily follow that these changes are due to LaFarge alone, or to LaFarge and Gundlach. The third member of the team played a role as well [though] nothing allows us to discern a clear contribution on the part of Desbuquois."⁵

According to Johannes Schwarte, the German version, entitled *Societatis Unio*, is the final version. In his view, this text, to which he did have access, differs from the English and French versions only with regard to the paragraphs on racism and anti-Semitism. Whence the hypothesis he proposes: that it was Gundlach who reworked a first draft written by LaFarge, repeating, in the paragraphs on racism and anti-Semitism, the ideas he had already set forth in 1930 in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*.⁶ Schwarte bases this hypothesis on an examination of the documents to which he had access and the testimony he had collected while working on his dissertation. The testimony of Heinrich Bacht, for example: "As I remember it, all the work of elaboration fell on Father Gundlach, if only because the good Father LaFarge was

absolutely not an 'intellectual' capable of that kind of work. That was also why, after he had been given this wholly unexpected mission, he went to Father General Ledochowski to explain the difficult situation in which he found himself. Father LaFarge did of course attend our editorial discussions. But his most important contribution, if I remember correctly, was to maintain a good work climate; and that is why he sometimes invited us out, Father Gundlach and me, when the occasion to do so arose. It is undeniable that from his social work among people of color in the United States he brought us valuable objective information. But Father Gundlach's great socio-philosophical visions were not his cup of tea."⁷⁷

Anton Rauscher reported that Gundlach had told him that he had reworked a first draft by John LaFarge that was "too pragmatic, not sufficiently principled."⁷⁸

According to Paul Droulers, who bases his remarks on the memories of the Parisian Jesuits Gustave Desbuquois and Barde, "[LaFarge] set himself up in Paris at the offices of the *Études* and came over for long conversations with Desbuquois, so that a genuine friendship grew up between them, and Desbuquois, who admired LaFarge, said that he was fulfilling 'a giant's task.' Gundlach joined him and redeveloped the outline in his own manner. Overworked, Desbuquois had asked Barde, who was interested in international and interracial questions, to work more closely with them, but Barde, who was rather reserved, came only once or twice to the editorial discussions: he found Gundlach's philosophical considerations too abstract and unsuited to the theme, according to him. . . ."⁷⁹

Here we offer two additional subjects for reflection. First, in his thesis, Edward Stanton asserts that he received indirectly from Father Anton Rauscher the following information regarding "Gundlach's papers." The latter were supposed to consist of: "1) A handwritten draft covering about half the projected encyclical; 2) a typed copy of the whole of the text, with a complete

table of contents; 3) a few typed pages, often including many corrections, of a French text, whose author is not indicated; 4) three typed pages of a manuscript [?] by Father Gundlach, containing the draft of a preface to the text and a few commentaries on 'a request made by the pope that an encyclical on nationalism and race be drawn up.'"⁸⁰

Finally, we should explain that the German version we were authorized to peruse in Mönchengladbach was presented as a complete text, without any correction, and seemed to us to correspond faithfully to the "long" English version mentioned above.

From all the preceding, it seems most likely to us that the "abridged" French version is inspired by Gundlach up to paragraph 76. The rest probably resulted from discussions and compromises among the three writers, although we cannot establish what contribution Desbuquois made.

What follows is, then, the "abridged" French version of the draft entitled *Humani Generis Unitas*.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The present English translation of the draft encyclical is based on the French text, using the extant English versions as a guide. The first of these versions, which the authors assume to have been made by John LaFarge, is incomplete; Thomas Breslin has informed me that he himself probably made the second one, and also translated the passages not translated in LaFarge's English version. Since there are many minor divergences between the French and English versions, and since the French text is the only complete one known to have been prepared by LaFarge and his team, I have elected to follow it here. I would like to express my gratitude to Thomas Breslin for making the relevant microfilmed materials available to me, and for his help and support at various stages of my work.

Humani Generis Unitas

1. THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE has been forgotten, so to speak, because of the disorder in contemporary social life, in relationships among individuals as well as in relations among groups and nations. This disorder is found in factual reality, but it is still more evident in people's minds. That this is so is clearly shown by the variety of remedies proposed for curing the illness.

In one place we find rigid doctrinaires proclaiming the sovereign value of the unity of the nation, in another a leader rousing people's souls by an intoxicating appeal to the unity of the race; whereas eastern Europe throws out to the whole world the promise, tinged with terror and blood, of a new humanity in the unity of the proletariat.

To the often incompatible demands of these various collectivities—nation, race, and class—we must add the obligations imposed, in the name of the unity of the state, on the political community proper.

The Church's right to speak based on her pastoral mission

2. Therefore, at a time when so many contradictory theories are leading to increased disorder in human life in society, the

Church has a duty to speak to the world. She often did so in the course of the past century; now as then, her purpose is to remind so-called purely human wisdom, which has gone astray, of God's Wisdom, the wisdom in which the Spirit of Truth and Order speaks, and which alone provides the legitimate foundation for the principles of our social life.

3. In so doing, the Church is not encroaching on foreign terrain; she does not seek to engage in "politics," pursues no personal interest; she is carrying out the pastoral mission of teaching with which she was entrusted by her divine Founder. This teaching mission concerns not only the immediate or mediate content of Christian revelation, but also everything required to enlighten and direct consciences in everyday life. In fact, to the full extent to which human actions and intentions can have moral value, and thus involve the glory of our Creator and the salvation of His creatures, they are subject to no rules other than those of the Gospel itself, of which the Church is the guardian and interpreter. That is why the Church continually intervenes in matters that concern social life. She is only carrying out a sacred duty.

Right to speak acquired through its history

4. But it is appropriate to observe here that in taking a position on these questions, the Church can appeal to still another right she has acquired through history. The Church, as a supernatural society of souls, provides the world with an example of a unique community: the most unified, most ample, most durable social reality on earth. In fact, for many centuries the Church has provided unity for vast and important parts of humanity. And if it is true that her beneficent action is much less clearly felt in our modern, secularized society, who would dare to deny that what remains of our aspiration to the union of peoples, and of the

consciousness of their duty to unite, is due to the Church's earlier motherly education?¹

5. Whether or not they are aware of it, civilized peoples in the West still live by the teaching and principles with which the Church, acting like a true mother, endowed them in the past; and in turn they have transmitted this teaching and these principles to other peoples all over the world. Thus the Church is fully justified—not only by her nature and proper function, but also by her actions in history—in considering herself the true principle of life for human society; and she is fully justified in condemning as a violation of divine order the disastrous secularization of society. And especially today, when there is such great disorder and discord among men, before all the world the Church stigmatizes this secularization as a criminal attack on the unity and happiness of the human race.

6. Nonetheless, the Church prefers to speak as a loving mother, inviting all peoples as her children to regain contact with their ancestral spiritual homeland, from which the blindness of their leaders, philosophers and heads of state has led them away. Let them understand that by abandoning it they have lost all hope of genuine unity under the gentle yoke of Christ—gentle, even though, for both individuals and peoples, it can be burdened with the Cross. Let them see, on the other hand, what a desperately heavy yoke weighs on them, a yoke of ideas and social systems that are unfortunately often wholly outside the true divine order.

PART ONE: HISTORICAL EXPOSITION OF THE ORIGINS OF THE DISORDER FROM WHICH SOCIETY IS NOW SUFFERING

7. This being the case, the Church will speak. First, to clarify the precise state of affairs, she asks: How does it happen that our contemporary world is suffering, to the point of paralysis, from

such a lack of unity, such an absence of sure guidance, when it is a question of re-establishing order in the life of humanity and of peoples?

I. The Mechanistic-Atomistic Conception of Human Society

If we go back to the beginnings of the period in which we now live, and follow its gradual development up to the present day, when it reaches its culmination, we find that originally there was a spiritual attitude entirely opposite to the one that now prevails. Then, reason felt sure of itself, to the point of believing itself exempt from error; it claimed to have discovered the true principles of every kind of knowledge. By using these principles, reason planned to establish an enduring order of life in society that would obey the law of uninterrupted progress in order to arrive at universal well-being in permanently assured peace. As man's inventions increasingly put at his disposal the gigantic power of steam and electricity, which his technology sought to exploit in ingenious ways, he imagined that he had discovered the universal secret of mastery, order, and efficiency in all domains. And he automatically applied the method and the maxims of his technology to problems of social life. In conformity with that method, he thought that once these questions had been broken down into their constituent parts, and the relations among these diverse parts and their interactions clearly determined, he could then let the social organism, which was also governed by determinism, function mechanically. Moreover, by further pursuing the study of the physics of society man believed it would be possible—taking into account the varying needs of the place and time, and acting at the right moment—to rebuild the institutions and arrangements of collective life from the ground up, the way he would like them to be.

False idea of man and of reality

8. Two conditions had first to be fulfilled, or more precisely two obstacles had to be cleared away before men could begin with full confidence this task of adjusting and reconstructing social life. First, a new conception of human nature and of all that is essential to man had to be developed; next, it would be especially important to clarify the content of what we call the real, the constitutive being of reality itself. In fact, no attempt was made to see in human nature a living, intimate, indivisible unity, spiritual through and through, and whose various constituent elements are coordinated and associated. Human nature was reduced to a single element, or at most to a purely extrinsic combination of several elements. And man's essential reality was seen only in its exterior shape or outward aspect, which amounted to saying that it is simply this or that, now one thing and then another, but always undergoing successive changes.

Neither was there any attempt to penetrate human reality's inward structure, to grasp the essential, immutable, and thus intangible, relations and connections of Being, Finality, and Value. Consequently, it was erroneously assumed that the particular reality of human life in society, precisely as it has emerged from historical evolution, was merely a collective, wholly external phenomenon, whose appearance varied with time and place. The inner principle that maintains the living unity of social life and directs its manifestations in accord with its nature and goal remained undiscovered.

Denial of the spiritual soul

9. To locate the common source of these two false assumptions, we have only to rely on the conclusions of sound philosophy and the teachings of Christian Revelation in order to

determine the doctrinal point denied or at least ignored by those who are taken in by the erroneous theses of materialist or positivist philosophy: What characterizes and distinguishes man is his spiritual soul. From this spiritual nature proceeds man's drive toward unity and order in his life. That is why human nature is marked by an indestructible unity of inner life, including the ordered hierarchy of the elements that make up its being; that is why human activity, whether involving understanding or will, cannot and must not remain content with the surface and multiplicity of things, but delve into their inner reality. And it is once again for the same reason that men do not live together like animals, in space and time. As men, together they must achieve more than a mere conglomerate; they must realize a genuine community of life, in which the requirements of their being are fulfilled and the values of their nature are put into practice.

Effects on society and on the dignity of the human person

10. Hence the initial error of making these two false assumptions and failing to recognize the true nature of man was pernicious, even though seductive. The ground seemed to be cleared for building new political and social structures, taking into account only external needs and ignoring historical elements persisting from the depths of the past.

11. It followed from these assumptions that man would be stripped of what constitutes his special dignity, namely his spiritual nature. And in fact no attention was paid the essential tendency of man to seek unity in his life, to develop his personality and his responsible autonomy.

All that was left standing amid these ruins was man's ability to perceive the phenomenal aspect of things and their change, governed by so-called purely mechanical laws, and the sole possibility of reacting by choosing extrinsic means and ends.

What a mystification it was to adorn that simple capacity with the noble name of "intellect"! Of the essence and spirit of man, of that spirit made in the image and likeness of God, nothing more was retained. Because of this basic error, sociology was henceforth wholly incapable of becoming a solid normative science for man.

Bankruptcy of the mechanistic-atomistic conception

12. And yet was there ever a time in greater need of reliable guidance for social development? For as we have already pointed out, in our period there is an extraordinary mobility and incessant variability in the conditions of life. The industrialization of old countries, which were previously almost entirely agricultural, along with the colonization of immense new territories, have torn great numbers of men away from their ancestral land or from their traditional environment; these uprooted people have been thrown into the maelstrom of nomadic life, finding work where they can, but not able to become genuine craftsmen. Attachment to one's native soil and to family traditions inherited from earlier generations were considered factors without any significance for the social order.

Deceptive promises of material well-being

13. In fact, didn't everything seem to justify proceeding in this way? Men were confronted by vast economic and technological prospects capable of providing the same forms of well-being for everyone, and in enormous quantity. Didn't this suggest that we should ignore the characteristic differentiations of the human person as such, and see men only as atoms similar to those constituting inorganic matter, and with elementary instincts—particularly the acquisitive instinct—that were the same in all

individuals? The facts seemed to support this way of seeing things: the ease in moving about, exchanging goods, gaining credit, and communicating news had undergone prodigious development; space was no longer an issue, so to speak, in the functioning of human societies. In short, wasn't the conquering drive toward progress so indisputable that attachment to the past, to tradition, seemed no obstacle in the race toward a future characterized by infinite possibilities? Similarly, didn't reckoning with the slow pace of time and the overlapping of generations seem superfluous, now that everyone, everywhere, felt this new need to live at top speed?

14. Today, we see that the modern Tower of Babel has suffered the same fate as the one in the Bible. We will not dilate here on the fallaciousness of assuming that equilibrium in social life is spontaneously and automatically produced. At present, this much has become clear to Us: in place of such an equilibrium, a humanity has been constituted—precisely by giving the will and power of individuals free rein—that from decade to decade, with increasing rapidity, and in every domain, has broken down into countless separate groups competing for supremacy. And what this humanity claimed was its main organizing agent has produced, because it was directed solely from the outside and toward the outside, only overt conflict on one hand, and on the other, an unstable social equilibrium or a system of armed peace.

Bankruptcy of equality

15. Moreover, we have now discovered that the hypothesis of the perfect equality and interchangeability of men is equally fallacious, even within this new social system. Whereas in the interest of social order men were once differentiated and classified by their spiritual and moral qualities, by their professional knowledge and overall social value, today they are increasingly classified

solely in terms of the amount of capital they possess: a wholly superficial principle of classification, or rather a simple fact usually resulting from accidental circumstances.

16. Finally, We regard as equally fallacious the hypothesis of an economic prosperity continually developing through its own mechanical operation alone. In fact, while humanity, to an unprecedented extent, had access to raw materials, while manufactured products were accumulating in enormous numbers, while men were offered the hope of an ever higher standard of living, at the same time there was a steady growth in the number of men who had no share or only a relatively modest share in this material progress, and who in spite of their fully legitimate desires were not able to find work, and thus could not satisfy these desires, since they had no means of acquiring anything whatever.

Loss of internal unity

17. But all this is well-known, and We have already discussed it on several occasions in recent years. What We wish to stress here is the undeniable fact that as a result of the changes we have mentioned, human society has gradually lost all inner coherence, all internal cohesion. Where could it have found this constitutive unity connecting all its elements? It sought only a material, generalized well-being. This goal, considered in itself, in its materiality, and involving only a purely exterior kind of happiness, was already wholly incapable of uniting men in the inner recesses of their souls. But in addition, the more time passed, the more this goal receded into the distance.

Dissociation of men through the acquisitive instinct

18. Unqualified praise was showered on the efficient operation of a purely acquisitive instinct in social life; an instinct of a lower order and which, moreover, does not constitute the basis of hu-

man nature, but is really no more than a particular manifestation of human nature, or more precisely of a mutilated human nature. If not integrated into man's spiritual nature and governed by it, this instinct, far from being an agent of unity among men, can on the contrary only brutally dissociate them and hurl them into a pitiless struggle for existence in which victory hardens the soul and defeat drives resentment to madness.

19. Labor ceased to be a genuine professional bond, consolidated by a common professional spirit and a feeling of shared dignity, with the same good will. This community of souls was replaced, as already noted, by the juxtaposition of haves and have-nots that resulted from the unrestrained exercise of the acquisitive instinct.

Even by private property

20. The institution of private property itself, which was by nature and origin intended to provide a way of making better use of worldly goods and to increase unity within human society, has become, to an unprecedented degree, a source of discord, envy, and obstacles to the rise of the best men, fracturing and tearing apart the social fabric.

21. Finally, space and time, whose power to separate men from each other seemed to be diminishing as technology and economics progressed, have recovered their ability to separate, and have even ignited battles of unparalleled violence for the possession of territories or markets, while also arousing an unanticipated rivalry and mutual incomprehension between the present generation and the preceding one.

Recourse to the state

22. After what we have just said, it is hardly surprising to find that wretched humanity, feeling itself fragmented and torn

asunder by these tendencies that pull it simultaneously in every direction, has sought support in the social institution of the state. The latter is in fact the institution best suited to resort to external constraint in the interest of order, and moreover this preserves its God-given spiritual and moral character. However, by seeking help above all from the state, and what is more, from a state conceived as a purely material power, humanity received nothing very beneficial either to itself or to the state.

Unifying function of the state

23. For the sole aim of the state, by its nature and proper function, is to secure the common welfare of its members. Yet what was asked of the state, precisely when the mass of citizens were suffering most from instability and internal dissociation, was to provide a foundation for unity and order in accord with certain principles—more or less false—of a so-called social morality. This request implied a practically unrealizable and moreover anti-natural extension of the state's functions.

Excessive growth of the state's power

24. It was therefore to be expected that states, urged to extend their functions abusively, and precisely because they were encountering difficulties and failures of increasing magnitude, would seek abroad diversionary successes of another kind in order to preserve their prestige and maintain their own existence.

The result was to strengthen the temptation felt by anyone who holds power to increase it excessively, and this in turn led, in a way entirely characteristic of the relations among modern states, to a violent and constant tension, to an unacceptable but forcefully expressed assertion of the state's absolute sovereignty, radically rejecting any subordination to a higher form of organi-

zation of the human community. And this is what ensued: the distribution of humanity into different states (which, given man's natural tendency to form such groups in order to perfect his spiritual and moral life, is in the divine plan a way to develop the life of the whole by differentiating it) itself became a new and discouraging source of division among men.

25. That is not all. The relations of individuals and groups with the state deteriorated in the same way. As we have already observed, the state and the state alone was seen as the ultimate resort; it was therefore increasingly asked to further the interests of individuals and groups. The state, in this regard, was considered and used as a simple instrument for services benefiting individuals. Thus the state, along with its institutions, became an arena in which selfish individual and collective interests battled each other for control of the state's power. Later on, the nature of the relations between citizens and the state was entirely corrupted. The state's primary aim and its moral goal is to secure the common good, to serve the interests of each and every one without distinction, and in that very way to establish union among all men. However, matters being as we have just described them, men's spontaneous, natural tendency to come together in a state thereby itself became, contrary to its proper orientation, a principle of deep division.

Summary of the failure

26. If we now sum up these bleak observations, it appears beyond doubt that in our time the story of the Tower of Babel is being repeated. With the assistance of the resources of modern technology and economics, the passion for acquisition has gradually taken a large part of humanity in its grip; it has erected a gigantic pyramid out of every man's yearning for enjoyment and an ever increasing standard of living; everywhere, unlimited by

space or time, by profession or nationality, a single language expresses the same appetites... A deceptive unity! For we must all finally acknowledge that the proud edifice will never reach its full height today, any more than it did in Biblical times, and for the same reason: the builders no longer understand one another, and this is its characteristic mark. The impossibility of mutual comprehension—which in Babel resulted from differing languages—signifies for us, as it did for the people of that earlier time, that the community of men has lost its true spiritual unity, that the active elements of disorder described above have erected cruel barriers between the members of human society, dug deep trenches—in short, created division. Among us as well, the attempt has been made, using great supplies of material, to build an edifice of dominating height; and once again, because spirit, and The Holy Spirit itself, has been outrageously denied, another, far more valuable edifice has been overthrown, the living edifice of a humanity united in its common soul. For there can be a truly united humanity, a truly real humanity, only insofar as it is full of the spirit, or we should rather say, the Holy Spirit; and this humanity can remain united only insofar as it takes its inspiration from the Holy Spirit, obeys its laws, and determines its goals and the hierarchy of its values in accord with it.

Effects on human personality

27. In any event, not only the unity of the social aim has perished, but also man's personality itself, the sense of the rights, dignity, and value of the person. Corresponding to social dissolution there is a parallel decline of the individual members of society. The latter, losing their lofty status as persons, are now no more than simple parts of a whole, numbers in endless files of other similar numbers.

28. This is hardly unexpected, after all that has been said

above. The same factors that by their very nature ought to connect, structure, and create unity in social life, but which for the reasons indicated have had the opposite result, cannot fail to have the same catastrophic effect on personality. There again, they are acting contrary to their true mission, which was to secure and enrich the human person's value and dignity. This mutilation and elimination of personality were inevitable, to the very extent that labor became no more than the expression of the instinct to acquire material goods, and the amount of wealth a man possessed almost the only determinant of the respect and importance accorded him. Mutilation and elimination of personality were all the more inevitable because men were also becoming more estranged and more opposed to each other in social life, striving to prevent or at least limit the development of others, whether individuals or collectivities. At the same time, the uprooting of so many men from their traditional environment, such as we see in the case of great numbers of peasants, was depriving them of the natural conditions of improving themselves and their position in society. The state's activity accentuated this disastrous breakdown of personality by encroaching more and more upon the independence of individuals, forcing them to enter into enormous, constantly growing organizations in order to seek the security they lacked elsewhere, stifling the individual and reducing his normal opportunities for personal development.

Diminution of personality as a result of social forces

29. Yet labor in a regular profession should have marked every individual's deepest being with a character peculiar to him; property should have provided everyone with solid assurance of security; rootedness in a particular environment, determined by his attachment to tradition, love of country and sense of nationality, and nourished by history, should have oriented every individual's

thought, will and feelings; in everyone, citizenship should have increased consciousness of responsibilities, or better yet, made him happy to feel responsible; eagerness to organize associations should have been merely the manifestation of a firm resolve to help each other and not of poorly disguised indolence and fear. Had this been so, each man would have increased the real wealth of his being, grown in value; he could have become a person in the full sense of the word, worthy and capable of legitimate autonomy.

30. Unfortunately, things turned out otherwise. We have seen that the forces acting within society, far from coordinating its constitutive parts and providing an inner armature, far from constructing in this way an organic whole of gradually increasing vigor, have on the contrary dissociated and separated the elements of society. They have committed the same crime with regard to the human person. And what remained of man after he had been ravaged in this way was a singularly diminished creature who had abdicated his power of making decisions and acting for himself, who was inclined to allow himself to be pushed and carried along by events, an almost passive and inert being, an elementary molecule lost in the mass of a body—in short, a reed shaken by the wind, as the Scriptures say.

By the standardization of human life

31. That is not all. Man's misfortune was completed by another disintegrating force, so-called uniform living conditions. Cities spread their suburbs out over what had earlier been purely farmland; industry's assembly-line products have been standardized, forcing a specific form on the consumer; even leisure and recreation have been standardized. In short, uniform ways of life have today reached the countryside as a whole, promoted by contacts and multiplying relationships with cities. The brutal and

monotonous uniformity of this state of affairs would not have come about had the present development not led to the depersonalization of man that we have deplored. For all these reasons, we are currently confronted by a frightening phenomenon: the ordinary man of our time is in constant danger of being caught up and carried away by blind mass movements. Without ideas of his own, without a will of his own, as soon as the incessant, insistent propaganda proceeding from the press, radio, movies, public meetings, or anywhere else goes to work on him in order to rouse his enthusiasm for a cause or a man, or on the contrary to inflame his opposition to someone or something, he immediately joins the crowd, shares its passions, and participates in its acts. This is, let us acknowledge it, a lamentable sign of the absence of personality and independence, especially when one thinks of all the energy and material resources that are spent today on educating young people and adults in order to make them worthy of being called men.

32. This should not be considered surprising. The most advanced and ingenious teaching methods could not give man what the development of our times constantly seeks to take away from him: namely, the solidity and richness of a strong personality, personal judgment, a sense of running his own life—all basic qualities that allow man not only to remain open to ideas and influences from outside, as he should, but especially to develop within himself the will to judge them independently and to act independently, rather than letting himself be manipulated by others.

The true Christian

33. Confronting today's world, the true Christian stands as straight and strong as a tower. Even if he happens to lack a full education, which is certainly not a negligible advantage, he

nevertheless dominates from above the dismal crowd of men who are prey to every external force. His faith, his union with God and the Spirit of Truth and Order, have given his inner life unity, solidity of character, and the calm assurance of soul, that all proceed from the Spirit. If these evolutionary factors, repeatedly mentioned above, were all to come together to create an environment that favors man's healthy development, the values we admire in rare men who bear the plain stamp of the Christian—namely personality, character—would then be every man's lot, for the full realization of his being and his personality.

II. *Effects of the Mechanistic-Totalitarian Conception on Human Society*

34. No truly informed person, We think, would challenge the correctness of Our explanation of the current evolution of society. This evolution is marked both by the way the unity and inner connection of human society are slipping toward an interior rupture, and by a similar slippage of individuals toward the mass into which they are absorbed. Any remaining doubts on this subject must be abandoned when confronted by clear evidence of the desperate, not to say fierce, efforts being made to re-establish unity, any kind of unity. These efforts were particularly noteworthy after the Great War; then, as We mentioned at the outset, the most diverse formulas called for unity: the unity of the nation, the unity of territorial nationality, the unity of the race, the unity of the proletariat—and, crowning them all, the unity of the state.

35. Let Us leave aside for the moment a consequence not noticed at that time, namely that the number and incompatibility of these various formulas alone, and particularly the efforts to put them into practice, inevitably further increased the division among men and within humanity; We will not dwell on the way these formulas drove men into different, violently opposed camps.

What is most important here is to determine if all these formulas are suitable for avoiding the catastrophe that is threatening us, for re-establishing the unity of the human race and the value of the human person in all their truth and assurance. Unfortunately, our experience up to this point offers no grounds for hope.

a) *Effects of the totalitarian system on human unity*

36. First of all it is clear that under the domination of some of these formulas, people have become accustomed to denying that concrete humanity constitutes a genuine unity; or at least to minimizing that unity by opposing it to other concrete realities, for example race, nation, or class; then it is claimed that anyone who still refers to the unity of the human race is a mere fanatic, an intellectual living among abstractions. There is no need to mention here what We will explain later on: that the unity of the human race is known to us both through reason and through divine Revelation. Our natural powers of understanding can already discover that there is a human nature identical in all men and in all times; this unity is also founded on the supernatural truth of the Redemption, just as it is presupposed by the very fact of original sin, and found in the supernatural relation of all men to their Redeemer, Jesus Christ.

Threats to human unity posed by the foreign relations of totalitarian states

37. While these developments are already deeply disappointing, even the most summary consideration of the effects they have already produced suffices to destroy any remaining optimism. Wherever their proponents have begun to put these formulas into practice on the social level, we find them claiming for their respective fundamental ideas a primacy of rank and value, a primary

and absolute right in every domain of life, in order to shape men in accord with their aims. Everywhere, they are seen at work outside their proper territory, and thus in the rest of the world, cleverly undermining, when not attacking directly, the sense of the great human community, its goals and its institutions that are indispensable for social life. At most they leave in peace certain types of collectivities regarded as deserving favor because they already represent some similar tendency, whether nationalist, proletarian, racist, or some other.

38. Leaving aside the fact that this way of proceeding is inconsistent with the principle on which these formulas are based, and also that interested and opportunistic considerations are involved, it has to be clearly stated that the sharply defined will to be oneself first and foremost, without regard for others, itself elicits in the larger social group steeped in it a dynamism that has a divisive effect on the rest of humanity. For this dynamism seeks to annex morally, by every suitable means, groups belonging to other states, but which it considers to be its spiritual relatives; henceforth, it is easy to foresee the immediate consequences that will flow from this. We thus find ourselves confronted by forms of imperialism. The specific type does not matter: in every case efforts to establish this kind of unity accelerate humanity's evolution toward dissociation, rather than promoting the union of men.

Threat to internal unity posed by states founded on totalitarianism

39. From this point of view, what now remains from the internal structure of the social systems we are to examine? In response to the capital question of unity, a question that requires so much circumspection, all these systems tend to offer a solution that is all the more mechanical because they categorically refuse

to acknowledge that a solid and communitarian social organization has a proper and natural function in the establishment of unity, and thus the right to contribute to it. Each system posits at the outset a fundamental idea considered as absolute, and seeks to make every form of life and every right flow from it. Even leaving aside for the moment the highly debatable question of the legitimacy of this conception, we can affirm this much: The unity sought in this way is equivalent to the purely mechanical unity of a machine, or at most to the unity of a vegetable or animal organism; it is not a genuine unity, and does not deserve to be called a human social unity, in the full sense of the word. In fact, true human social unity requires, really to come into existence, unity within variety, that is, it requires that the unity of the whole, the agent and guarantee of the spiritual and moral Good of the whole, be constantly asserted as a force of union and organization among the diverse constitutive elements, and constantly interpenetrate them in order to lead them to collaborate in this union.

It is thus highly improper to use the expression "social unity" when it is claimed that in both principle and fact internal social factors cannot have their own role in the establishment of this unity, and when it is also claimed, on the contrary, that the form and content of the life of these factors are exclusively determined by each system's fundamental idea, considered as a sovereign absolute informing every aspect of social life.²

Tendency toward economic collectivism

40. A grave danger thus appears in concrete reality: This extensive totality, with its erroneous concept of social unity, tends fatally toward a leveling and standardizing collectivism.

Moreover, economic activity within the political frontiers of these states is directed exclusively toward developing and ensuring

their respective communities' material life, as if this were its supreme and sufficient principle. Morality, basing itself on the natural order of things and the hierarchy of values, proclaims that economic activity in a given state must have as its primary goal the material well-being of families in harmony with the overall prosperity of states, and that thereupon rests the development of any civilization. But this teaching is scornfully rejected as tedious and vulgar social eudaemonism.

41. In addition, it is clear that in societies in which unity has taken the form of this abusive totalitarianism, the various independently administered occupational communities, and their associated collaboration, are considered in theory a form of harmful pluralism whose existence is undesirable; in practice, after making many attempts to move in other directions, they revert to the state when they have to resolve labor conflicts or regulate the conditions of labor in the interest of social order. The state settles matters directly. To be sure, in certain cases and under certain conditions, and when the common good requires it, this direct state intervention in social matters is itself in conformity with the principles of natural law; indeed, sometimes it is the only way of establishing or re-establishing order. Nonetheless, a twofold doubt then arises. Are we not unduly sacrificing private groups and organisms based on nature by depriving them of their role? Moreover, and this is still more serious, does a social group of the totalitarian type just described understand the term "common good" in the objective sense assigned to it by natural law?

Mutilation of the state

42. This question regarding the common good entails consideration of another, still more important factor in social life: the state. The state's *raison d'être* is, in accord with its natural goal, to provide for the common good on an ongoing basis. Now social

unities of this kind, namely states, as soon as they tend toward an unlimited extensive totality, threaten to strip the state of its essential attributes and sovereign power. If this happens, the state is transformed into a wholly mechanical administrative bureaucracy, a simple instrument of the racist or nationalist collectivities involved. Thereby the state's own nature as a state is mutilated, in violation of natural law; in addition, in relationship to the concept of the common good, a clear inner contradiction arises between this concept and the state's own activity, with regard for example to legislation, the determination of rights, and administration. In fact, in this case, the state's own obligation, which we have already said consists in taking the good of the whole body of citizens as the normative goal of its action, is completely abandoned and subordinated to the interests of the collectivity. As a result, the state's essential duty, which derives from its very nature—namely, to ensure equality of rights for all citizens without exception—is henceforth absolutely unrealizable, even in the most reduced form.

43. In summary, this is what emerges from these observations taken all together: on one hand, the tendency in practice toward a leveling, standardizing collectivism; on the other, at the very core of social life, a profound inability to achieve social unity within an authentic and legitimate diversity. All this creates a tension that, joined with the overheated dynamism of outward expansion, imperils the unity of the human race's social life.

Proletarian states

44. Substantially the same thing can be said about social unities or states that base their extensive totalitarian activity on the "unity of the state" or the "unity of the proletariat." However, we should note that in the first case (that is, totalitarianism based on the unity of the state) the state's inner moral nature is completely

ignored. In the second case, we are justified in asking what is meant by this "unity of the proletariat" that is supposed to be the origin and foundation of social totalitarianism. Is it chiefly a psychological complex composed of all the abandonments and uprootings, all the insecurities of existence? In that case we find ourselves confronted with at most a deep despair that leads the masses to react in a brutal manner; a clear and tragic proof of the disorder. If it is on the contrary the finally acquired sovereignty of a class in accord with the aims of Marxist socialism, then it is no clearer how the principle of class struggle and dictatorship based on force which is at the foundation of this system can become a principle of internal order, of harmonious unity within human society. In what We have already said or written on this subject, notably in our encyclicals *Quadragesimo Anno* and *Divini Redemptoris*, We have repeatedly pointed out the way in which Marxism has deprived humanity of its liberty, destroyed all dignity of the human person, and shown itself utterly incapable of establishing any form of human unity.

45. Let us therefore conclude that the formulas for achieving unity that have been promoted in our time are of no avail in strengthening the internal fabric of humanity. They aim directly at provoking a terrible catastrophe, or rather they hasten its arrival. Another question arises: What protection is afforded personality, a value which is intimately associated with the unity of humanity and therefore faces the same peril?

b) Effects of the totalitarian system on personality

46. Here again, as in the case of humanity and its unity, We cannot fail to be disappointed in advance. For what do we see, without being able to doubt it? Paralleling and in connection with the social systems of extensive totalitarianism, we rather frequently find a certain systematic depreciation of man's personality, a mis-

trust toward it expressed in both speech and writing. Oh, yes! People spread the view that if one stresses the value of personality and its freedom, one is merely following in the wake of Liberalism, a doctrine held to be void of all sense of community and purely individualistic.

47. We will not undertake here an analysis and critique of these ideas, which have already been examined in the light of the teachings of our faith and a sound philosophy; let us leave this to specialists. But insofar as the Christian position on this subject is concerned, it is clear—and every Catholic ought to have learned this from his catechism—that affirmation of human personality and its peculiar value is as old as the creation of man, as old as the august mystery of the redemptive sacrifice on Golgotha, and therefore as old as the supernatural link uniting human personality with the One God in Three Persons, through the sacrament of Baptism.

48. Why then should we be astonished that as a result of such tendencies to fundamentally depreciate the value of personality, the latter's fate within extensively totalitarian social unities, when compared with its former fate, does not seem to be improving? This is all the more the case because in this conception we observe a parallel and logically consistent depreciation of the value of human labor, considered in both its individual and social aspects. In the case of countries subjected to the influence of either collectivist doctrines or concepts of extensive totalitarianism regarding the unity of social life, man is considered first of all as a worker, and still more, and exclusively, as a sort of government employee working for the benefit of the racist, nationalist, statist, or proletarian collectivity. And then the great questions whose solution already involves so many difficulties, namely the choice of an occupation, of an apprenticeship, of independent control over the profession, of the freedom to establish oneself in a profession, of opportunities to rise in society—these questions run

the risk of being grossly simplified to the detriment of morality and human dignity, when some form of totalitarianism erects the monstrous structure of collective labor.

The fate of private property

49. Anyone who wishes to foresee the full development of the consequences of these systems has only to consider the fate of private property in such a situation, even though it is an institution positively founded in natural law. Through its dynamism, extensive totalitarianism tends to take an increasing number of measures that will in fact lead to a broad socialization of the means of production, even if that socialization is not juridically acknowledged.

What is the result? The danger that private property will be abolished, contrary to the strict requirements of morality and natural law, whether it is considered in itself or as one of the social institutions, and to the full extent that private property should in fact be the material foundation on which the activity of individual persons and families is to be established and peacefully and freely pursued over the whole field of human civilization.

The fate of the middle class

50. That is not all. There is moreover, and principally, a danger to the existence of that broad stratum of independent middle classes constituted by active and thrifty families, composed of peasants and artisans as well as industrialists and merchants. History teaches us that these middle classes are the natural support for the internal stability of the state; the source of healthy development, healthy growth of spiritual and material strengths; the fertile territory on which elites of all kinds, distinguished by their personal gifts and capacities for action, are born and naturally rise, without there being any need for artificial measures or purely

external policies. And ultimately we arrive at that dismal state of affairs in which more and more men, finally becoming the majority, depend directly or indirectly on the collectivity for their existence. That is a situation which, given the dynamism of extensive totalitarianism, can bring along with it, and, alas, has already brought about a limitation of freedom that strikes a blow at the personality deep within it, and moreover puts a terribly heavy burden on consciences struggling with the moral duties of marriage and the family that their Christian faith enjoins upon them.

Right of association suppressed

51. Confronted by such facts, a clear judgment must be made. Extensively totalitarian societies are far from arresting man's slide toward this mass existence in which his personality is dissolved. In this kind of society, in fact, man no longer relies on powerful private organizations to make up for the weakness of his individual existence; he cannot do so, for within these same social unities, a natural law attaching to human personality, the right of association—implied by the very collectivizing institutions that so vigorously oppose any form of autonomy for individuals or groups—is rendered powerless. That is why man is forced to seek the representation of his interests in strong organizations emanating from totalitarianism itself and remaining enclosed with it, organizations that are hardly more than the arms with which totalitarianism, which intends to judge, regulate, and direct absolutely everything, holds the masses in its grip.

Manipulation of public opinion

52. In addition, there is something that was already beginning to reveal itself in earlier developments but is now completely evident: the regimentation of public opinion. This is carried out

in all sorts of ways: by the spoken and written word, by the theater, cinema, and radio, by art and even by science, by schools and the trades, and even—a repugnant development—by pressure put on the poor through the assistance offered to them. And the result of all this is the modern mass man, who no longer has any opinions of his own, any will of his own; he is merely a passive instrument in the leader's hands. It is practically impossible for him to undertake any initiative at all, no matter how limited; yet without this spirit of initiative, man is incapable of acquiring the personal culture that is a vital element in the human community.

Destruction of the true notion of authority

53. This brings us to one of the most important points in modern social life: authority. In the course of earlier contemporary development, this question was obviously ignored, to the point that the current constructors of new social unities dare to attribute their superiority to their stress on the principle of authority, conjoined with the totalitarian principle. But we have noted that totalitarianism is incapable of establishing true unity in men's social life; similarly, among the new architects of authority, a purely negative conception of authority leads away from true unity rather than toward it. And in fact their conception of authority is purely negative. It includes this thesis that the formation of will within these social unities excludes, without exception, any personal cooperation on the part of its members; indeed, the very formation of this will must be accomplished in such a way as to avoid relying on the positively and freely expressed will of its members; however, it remains understood that any measure taken by members on their own, any initiative on their part, will not be allowed.

Fallacious use of the term "authoritarian"

54. Today it is common to call "authoritarian" methods of shaping will in social unities. This is a fallacious use of the term, and the more literally it is understood, the more fallacious it is. For it gives the impression that its "authoritarian" constructions are particularly concerned with the principle of authority in social life. In fact, what is directly involved here is a specific technique for shaping will in the interest of social life, and not at all authority itself, in its authentic essence.

55. In the kinds of societies termed "authoritarian," what is at issue is not safeguarding authority as such, but rather, in the given case, shaping a *unified* will for the benefit of social unities, with a full guarantee of success, and with minimum friction and maximum speed. These two results, and particularly the first one—namely, the shaping of this unified will in a state—have encountered various dangers in the course of the contemporary development we have described. Reviewing the social history of our time, we can always point to the trials and perils so-called democratic institutions have faced in their attempts to shape a unified will.

56. There is no doubt that finding a way of operating with the minimum of friction and the maximum of speed is genuinely important; but it remains to be discovered whether it is wise to adopt this mode of operation in every situation, and whether, by trying to force success in this way, one has to sacrifice other elements in men's life that are more important, or at least deserve serious consideration. To justify this way of proceeding, appeals are made to the example of the conduct of war; emphasis is laid on a principle which, it is said, is absolutely inevitable: that it is important above all to act, preferable to run the risk of failure than to do nothing at all. But there is cause for serious reservations when we see the model for governing a

people or a state sought in a situation as abnormal as that created by war.

Peace is the normal condition of life

57. Yes, our cries of pain must rise up toward the God of peace; today, it seems, it is no longer everywhere considered abnormal to live social life under conditions resembling those of wartime. For here and there has arisen the objectionable practice of giving civil life the appearance of war, as if peace were in itself nothing but preparation for war. Anyone who steadfastly holds that peace is the normal condition of social life will think otherwise: he will say that because stability is necessary for life, the exercise of authority in framing laws—insofar as this is a patient weighing of arguments for and against, and the continuity and interconnection of the laws is maintained—constitutes the most active element in shaping the unity of will in the state.

Authority, taken in isolation, is not the principle of unity

58. This naturally leads us to make another observation, namely that the examination of these so-called authoritarian modes of forming the collective will not only has a certain technical aspect, but also raises questions regarding the essential basis and thus the very morality of human life in society. These types of governments, precisely by virtue of the fact that they abhor discussion and reject any contribution made by public opinion, demonstrate their small regard for personality and its normal capacities. This mental attitude leads them to scorn still more any actual participation by members of the state, and to cede, totally and without reservations, the task of forming the collective will to the person who holds authority, and to him alone.

59. This complex of ideas and this actual conduct rest upon

the following false conception: The principle of authority, taken in itself and in isolation, is the principle of the unity of social systems. This is an inadmissible conception. For it is not when taken in itself and in isolation that the principle of authority is the principle of unity, but rather when it is closely connected with the fact of the natural union of all the members and with their obligation to unite in the interest of the aim assigned to the whole. It follows that authority's field of action and power are in each case determined, founded, and limited by the quality and essence peculiar to this aim. It further follows that the principle of authority, precisely insofar as it exercises its natural function of creating unity, logically presupposes in every case the obligatory union of the members, as such, because of the common goal they are to seek. No doubt the proper function of the principle of authority, through which it guarantees unity, is its leadership function; nonetheless it should also be observed that there exists still another function that creates unity, which is permanent and fundamental and results from the common goal that must be pursued: namely, to foster and cultivate, among members of the community, the simultaneously spiritual and moral sense of their responsibility with regard to it. By neglecting this, social unity is transformed into a simple aggregate of these same members, formed by constraint and discipline.

Authority derives from God

60. The close connection between the function of the principle of authority and the dignity of the members of the community as persons is still more evident if we consider the fact that human authority in itself is derived from God.³ By assigning it this lofty origin, one strongly emphasizes the dignity of the human person. Human authority in itself entails relationships of subordination between one man and another, spiritual and moral

relationships affecting men as persons; but these very relationships, because of the dignity of the person, and especially because of his essential non-dependency, are so particular that they cannot result from the will of men, whether taken separately or collectively, and they can be grasped in themselves only as the exercise of God's own authority, communicated by God to man.

This inner connection between the origin and essence of authority in itself, on one hand, and the dignity of the human person on the other, is of the greatest importance; it sets the limits of the proper authority of social systems as such, and reduces to their correct proportions the reckless exaggerations that are current today and ultimately damage legitimate authority. The fact that measures are or seem to be useful and even necessary for realizing collective values within a social system does not suffice to justify immediately, and for this reason alone, granting to the authority involved the power to take these measures. For even then we have to consider the inner nature of authority, the origin and essence of these relationships of subordination among men, which are so particular.

And in that way set its proper limits

61. Taken in themselves, these relationships of subordination cannot result from the will of individual men, nor from that of men grouped together in a social whole. If that were not so, then the consideration of what is said to be the common good in a given social system would not merely delimit authority's scope, but also confer on it full and total sovereignty. In other words: Any measure taken by the authority that was, or was claimed to be, connected with the so-called common good of the social system in question could derive its moral justification immediately from that common good itself—a common good, let us note, that has nothing to do with the true *common good* of a well-

ordered society. Human authority taken in itself does not proceed from the social bond, considered without reference to God, who has indivisibly united society and authority; and the reason for this is that human dignity does not allow us to seek any other foundation for these relationships of subordination of one man to another that are established in exercising authority.

62. Therefore any action on the part of human authority that is taken, or said to be taken, with a view to the common good cannot derive its immediate, moral legitimation from this fact alone. And it follows logically that this limitation of the authority's sovereignty in human social systems as such can be applied to all actions directly affecting the human person and its essential rights. The legitimacy or illegitimacy of such actions must in no case be established merely by considering the so-called common good of the social system in question, but must be solidly based on their full accord with Divine moral law.

Practical consequences of the false doctrine of authority

63. And now what do we find in practice? That the mere assertion or assumption that something is useful or necessary for the supposed common good of the state or collectivity—national, racial, or proletarian—suffices to provide human authority with an immediate moral justification for measures that attack the very core of the human person's rights. On this basis, the human person's right to exist is assaulted: it is destroyed in the mother's womb, or its life considered to be without value; it is robbed of its bodily integrity; on insufficient grounds it is exposed to grave dangers to the health of the soul and the body; the right to punish by death is based on destructive premises, on the sole, direct interest of the supposed common good of the state or of some other collectivity, and this right is capriciously exercised, since under the same circumstances and for the same reasons, in one

case the punishment of a murderer is held to be unjustified and in another the murderer is honored as such.

64. On the basis of these same assumptions, other rights of the human person are attacked. Men are unhesitatingly stripped of their freedom, and with still less hesitation, the sanctity of home and hearth are violated. The freedom to marry, to educate children, and even the practice of conjugal rights is limited, with no authorization and in direct connection with the interests of the national, racial, or proletarian collectivity. And worse yet, attempts are made to deprive individuals of the right to decide in accord with their consciences, to make their own choice before God: the decision is to be made by society conceived in a totalitarian manner.

Decline of authority itself

65. This being the situation, we often hear complaints that freedom has perished.⁴ For Our part, We too complain, and say that true authority has perished. And We then urge all to remember what has just been clearly explained: In the immutable truth that all human authority proceeds from God, the dignity of the human person is affirmed and emphasized. Authority's consciousness of its divine origin cannot be maintained if the dignity of the human person is violated in the manner described.

66. We have already explained the deplorable consequences this way of proceeding has produced in the area of education, when those holding authority pay no attention to the positive factor in social life constituted by the responsibility of the members of society in the pursuit of the common goal, or acknowledge its role only when it suits them to do so.

If today, remaining faithful to themselves, those in authority still refuse to accord any active role to man's personal dignity, to his spiritual and moral responsibility, even though it is so bene-

ficial for social life as such, then even in this case the external aspect of a collectivity united by firm discipline, acting by fits and starts, could never lead Us to conclude that the rightful requirements We set forth and defined have been fulfilled. Behind this facade is concealed both a mortal threat to the human person and what would ensue from its demise: an authority that is denatured, as a spiritual and moral power, an authority that has been transformed into brute force.

Risk of a complete catastrophe resulting from the abandonment of the spirit

67. Our modern society is thus diseased; and the new formulas for achieving unity, the new types of unity, far from curing the disease, can only aggravate it. For they dissolve, along with the concept and ideal of life, which have themselves become mechanically dissociating, the internal coherence of human social life, and, in a parallel way, the natural components of social life's constitution as well as its natural foundation, the unity of the human personality. In the final analysis, they threaten to lead humanity to catastrophe through their mechanistic, atomistic conception of the human race, and by their radical abandonment of the spirit, and ultimately of the Holy Spirit.

Regarding these forms of extensive totalitarianism's unity, let Us mention one last bit of evidence that points in the same direction. Because it was de-spiritualized and employed purely mechanical procedures, thought could no longer perceive the various natural factors involved in the building of society and their essential interdependence, as well as the unity within plurality; it could no longer move on to the true unity and totality of a complete system of the world, including an intensive totality, that is, an authentic unity in an authentic plurality. Of spirit it retained intelligence alone, which precisely no longer deserved to

be termed intelligence in its deep sense, that is to say, in the sense of spirit; yet in recent years intelligence has had to be all the more prepared for the attacks made upon it.

68. The social forms of extensive totalitarianism demonstrate their lack of spirituality in that they place special emphasis on a single factor in the social edifice—race, the nation, the state, the proletariat—and accord it such decisive preponderance that other factors lose all meaning and value of their own. To be sure, unity is thus produced, but a purely mechanical unity, obtained only by the extension of this single factor: and then one also has only a simple extensive and mechanical totality. True, internal, profound unity is destroyed and along with it the visible stamp of a social edifice full of spirit and informed by spirit.

69. This same lack of spirituality has brought about the destruction of the internal unity of the human person and of personality. Thus it is hardly surprising that among contemporary men, and especially the younger generation, resistance to a reality stripped of all its objective values has stiffened. Such a reality could only produce weary, skeptical men without shared convictions who carelessly abandoned everything—even all properly human values.

That being the case, there remained and still remain only two choices: either a return to the spiritual, or a strong and open commitment to what is not spiritual, namely the pressure of temperament and instinct, affective sensibility, or vigorously aggressive action as such. Doesn't the second alternative amount to an attack on the very heart of human life, or rather on the heart of all social reality?

The reality of the human person, informed by spirit, which defines and asserts itself in the intimate unity of the various manifestations of its life and its responsible exercise of freedom, and which moreover is opposed to the view of the individual, *qua* member of society, as nothing more than a member—this reality

no longer counts, for only the collective concentration of a material-sensate current of life is to constitute the final and definitive unity and reality.

In addition, man's natural sociability itself is nothing more than the essential and therefore necessary manifestation of his person as informed by the spirit; but it has been transformed into something entirely different: a simple mechanical, organic process, like those we see in plants and animals, in which individuals are concentrated or mass-produced in accord with a certain type and common development. When this occurs, the abandonment of the spirit is definitive.

70. Because they have turned away from the spirit—that is, ultimately, from the Holy Spirit, the foundation and source of all unity and all order—the men of our new times have likewise sought for the past century to build their own Tower of Babel, and, of course, without God's help. "Let us glorify our name," these builders of society have said in their turn. And, as before, their enterprise has ended in appalling division and destruction. Men no longer understand each other. Now as before, the Divine Spirit, the Eternal, has descended upon men as an avenger, saying: "I shall confound their tongues."

PART TWO: THE UNITY OF SOCIAL LIFE

71. After the preceding examination of the errors into which the society of our time has strayed, we Christians are still more firmly convinced that true unity among men can come only from the spirit, inspired by the uncreated Spirit whose Divine Person has been poured "into our hearts" in "mysterious fullness," and who at the birth of the Church made all Christians "of one heart and mind," achieving the miracle of making it once again possible for all the representatives of the most diverse peoples to communicate in a single and unique language. This Spirit is the spirit

of unity, since He Himself is the love of the triune God in all its fullness. Wherever He is poured forth, there unity is poured forth; where His fertility is allowed free rein, inner unity is created. Illuminated by this uncreated light that is "the spirit of God who dwelleth within us," enriched by the gift of His grace fortifying our faith, making steadfast use of the natural faculties of the created spirit given to all men, we recognize that in truth humanity constitutes a unity. This is clearly not a unity in the way an individual person is a unity, and still less in the way a machine or a vegetable or animal organism is a unity. It is something else entirely: a unity of order, that is, the unity of a large number of members, each one distinct and personally responsible, with his own destiny, but all of them together internally organized toward common goals. To be sure, a unity of this kind is possible only by virtue of the spirit that produces it. This unity in plurality is what humanity is. Let us consider humanity first in its unity, and then in its plurality.

I. The Unity of Humanity

The unity of nature

72. The unity of humanity is based in the first place on a foundation that can be discovered through our natural powers of understanding. This foundation, this solid ground that supports the whole of humanity, is our common human nature. Certainly, men and groups of men are not interchangeable in a mechanical fashion, like atoms. On the contrary, we see a complex of diverse characteristics and qualities of soul and body. Individuals and groups vary greatly in the way they react to developing events, in their way of thinking and dealing with things; and they are often perplexed as how to choose between extremes. But we

always find different ways of thinking, intermediate attitudes and opinions, never absolute, irreconcilable oppositions. In primary impressions and affective states there is a certain general norm of thought, a certain sameness of feeling, a certain commonality in the fundamental tendencies and direction of the will. Wherever we look, in any period in which we encounter men, whether in our own time or in the most remote past, whether we are concerned with modern civilized man or so-called primitive man, we always find the same human nature. Even those who attempt to deny this bear witness to its truth, for what are they trying to do by denying it, if not to understand the life of these souls, which they claim is so different from our own? This attempt is doomed to fail unless it is acknowledged that the spiritual life of these primitives is ultimately identical with ours. We are led to conclude that all men share a common nature: whether we study the various categories of men distributed at the present time all over the globe, or move backward along the line of human development to primitive man, we find the same specifically human type, identical in both mental and physical characteristics.

Revelation's testimony: Original sin and human unity

73. Thus science seems to confirm the truth of the Old and New Testament's teaching regarding the unity of the human race. No one who professes the Christian faith can doubt that the account of man's creation in Holy Scripture teaches the unity of the human race. We must affirm this single, unifying stream of bodily life—the blood stream, as it is called—that God set in movement in the world, and in which all men are plunged, is such a powerful agent of unity—even though it acts not by itself but by virtue of a formal decree of God—that were it not for this stream of life the melancholy heritage of original sin would not be passed down through the generations. Thus every time

parents, even those who possess sanctifying grace, exercise their holy function of awakening new life, since they are themselves bearers of this stream of life, their very act inevitably endows the child with membership in a community subject to supernatural death. Fortunately, however, this state of death can and must be promptly replaced by a new state of divine life, through holy baptism, in whose waters we are born anew.

Unifying work of the Redemption

74. Moreover, by virtue of the same divine decree, deliverance from the bonds of original sin could be accomplished only after the Redeemer, Jesus Christ, in the womb of his blessed Mother, had himself shared in this blood stream through which all men come into being, and become "like one of us, and in all things save sin." As the fathers of the Church said, "What was not assumed by Him was not healed." That is, humanity has been redeemed only because the second Person of the Holy Trinity took on, through the hypostatic union and through Mary's true human motherhood, a genuine human nature.

Mystery of the blood

75. And this is the true "mystery of the blood." That is why and how blood and blood relationship underlie the reality of the community of men, "the great human family that extends beyond the borders of all races and countries,"⁵ and which links all men by that which is deepest in them, namely by their relationship to God. It is sad to observe that today there are men who still want to be Christians, at least in name, who do not admit this mystery of the blood, which is nonetheless one of the foundations of our Christian religion. Such men grossly exaggerate the role of accidental and in any case very superficial accidents of blood and

blood relationships in the formation of social groups larger than the family. And they do so to the point that, in opposition to all experience, and still more in opposition to the teaching of our Catholic faith, they absolutely reject the unity of the human race and seek to erect insurmountable barriers between the different communities of blood and race. They even go so far as to formulate the proposition that human races, because of their natural, immutable characteristics, are so different one from another that the most inferior race is more remote from the most developed than from the highest animal species.

Men are united by their life on the earth

76. The human race is united not only by a common nature, but also by the necessary, twofold force that accounts for the extension and evolution of human life, that is, by space and time. Doesn't unity also result from our life side by side on the same earth, over which all men of all times go as pilgrims toward their eternal destiny, and over which passes the endless "caravan" of which Saint Augustine speaks?⁶ Man's joys and sorrows, his successes and defeats, are always borne by the same earth; it constantly offers material energies to the new generation and receives the dead; on it rest and will always rest men's houses and homes; in its own way, it stamps the deepest recesses of men's souls with its own beneficial stability, which, as people say, "attaches them to the soil"; it binds men together through their sense of being neighbors and through their common love of their native land, and makes them long for the place where they were born even when they are far away. All men everywhere show the influence of having lived side by side in space, on the same earth. May we not find therein the basis of a genuine unity in which all men can understand each other?

That is what all men of all times feel with regard to the earth

that bears us all. That is why everywhere on the earth, in accord with a holy custom that cannot be too highly recommended, they plant the cross, the sign of the most intimate community; for the same reason, the Church has always and everywhere blessed, with ancient, unchanged formulas, the earth on which humanity lives, the earth that the first and second Adam both trod.

Men unified by time

77. We have just seen how space, in virtue of men living side by side, leads to union among them. The same is true of time, which also acts to unite men and marks each of them with a seal of unity. Men's lives, succeeding each other, give rise to tradition; and through them history comes into being. Many people see precisely in this relation through time the very reason for what is called the nation or national cohesion.

The Church's sense of history

78. The Church is particularly aware of the important role time plays in uniting men, and of the social efficacy of tradition and history in the life of humanity. The Church is in fact rooted in the temporal, precisely because of her divine, spiritual element. God became man, not at a random moment in history, but at a very specific moment: "when the fullness of time was realized." When human history had reached that point, then God, through the incarnation of His Son, entered our history, entered the temporal life of men living together, not as a stranger, but as a member of the family.

Historical vocation of a Catholic nation

79. As a result, His action, a source of life and grace, perpetuated by and in the Church, an action that is subject to the laws

of history, has continued since that time, maintaining the constructive activity of tradition and unity. Thus the Church, whatever her very special nature may be, finds herself here in accord with all other types of society, since by their very nature they are all rooted in history, in tradition, in the temporality of our social life; and the same can be said of the Church's accord, both internally and positively, with nations. If there are state-systems that call themselves Catholic because they are based on a dynasty or a crown anointed by the Church, this is the result of a historical encounter with the Church that was not merely a positive fact, as in the case of other nations, but also a religious fact. If this encounter took place in history, that is because in the view of the Church and of these states history was and is above all, since the incarnation of the Son of God, the history of God and of the work of His grace. And what a magnificent, profound, and fruitful unity could spring from that! On the other hand, what a lamentable decline resulted from the misuse or waste of special graces given to the community, when this consciousness on the state's part evaporated, and the state's Catholicism became merely a political formula used by the rulers.

For its part, the Church gives a sacred character to the unifying value human life possesses in virtue of the fact that it is realized in time, itself drawing a perpetual renewal of life from this value all during its march through history. In addition, in every age and for every generation, the Church has acted as a true mother. She is, to use Saint Augustine's expression, "a child to the children, firm with the young, and good and tender to the old."⁷

Union through the use of external goods

80. The development of this human nature common to all takes place not only in space and time, but also in connection with all the external elements of our world. Considering the latter, we perceive another important factor of unity among men.

Among the rights of the human person is the natural right to use the external goods of the earth. If order and peace are to reign in communal life, no doubt the exercise of this right must be constrained by the institution of private property; but it does not follow that it is therefore, in itself and as such, rejected or abolished; on the contrary, it acquires a broad function as an agent of unity among men. From this right possessed by all derives the duty—even in a social system of private property—to facilitate as much as possible the mutual exchange and circulation of products and persons. Apart from human nature's profound tendency to sociability, this general right to the use of goods also entails in theory that peoples have an obligation to facilitate the exchange of people and goods even across their frontiers, in both directions; and in any case to avoid systematically hindering such exchange.

Wasting goods harms families

81. The general right to use goods within a given system of property is all the more justified because the permanent purpose of the goods of the earth is to guarantee the life-security necessary for all individuals, and still more, for all the families of humanity. Because it does not serve this end, massive waste of these goods is contrary to the natural order, even if it does not in any way infringe upon the right to private property. We saw this kind of waste during the disastrous four-year-long World War, when immeasurable material wealth was squandered. Why then should we be surprised that this terrible outrage committed in common against what supports the life of families has still not been repaired?

The waste of war

82. We are faced by the threat of another war, which would bring on a far more massive waste of material goods—a waste

that has already begun through expenditures for armaments. We will not argue here that such a war would not be economically beneficial to any of those who participated in it, because this purely utilitarian point of view is not a conclusive argument against war. Rather, We want to protest this impending war, in the name of millions of families throughout the world and in solidarity with them; for by restricting still more narrowly the effective exercise of the natural right of all to make use of this world's goods, war inevitably destroys the very foundation of the unity of humanity's physical life established by the Creator. We further protest the war, in the name of all men, and more particularly in the name of the many fathers and mothers who are already so burdened with heavy cares, and who all over the world are praying and repeating in every language, and above all at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, Our Father's request: "Give us today our daily bread."

Unity through work

83. Men neither want nor ought to wage war; they want to work, and should do so. This vocation to work constitutes a further element in their unity, in which all men come together. Because of their sameness of nature, their spiritual and moral development, as well as their physical improvement, are linked, among us, with work; in the present order of things, after the loss of that happy order of things that preceded original sin, the natural vocation to work was confirmed by God's command: "You shall earn your bread by the sweat of your brow." Consequently, the obligation to work is first of all every man's personal duty, a duty that is embodied, in a new and special way, in actual paternity and in the preparation for the honor of being the father of a family.

84. As a result, the obligation to work, as We noted at the beginning of Our Letter, is not primarily the exercise of a

function imposed by some authority—a state, nation, racial group, or individual man; it is simply a direct obligation attaching to personality, and therefore makes the sum of all men in all times and regions a vast community of workers. The needs of society require that professions be differentiated; distributed among them, men work together, each one in his place, at a common activity; some work as leaders or teachers, others labor under their direction.

85. When labor is carried out in this way, within an occupational framework, it is capable of binding workers together in a genuine community of life, which can extend beyond the limits of space, time, and differences of age. Once, when everything was not so narrowly regulated by the state, there were periods in which those who worked at the same trade collaborated greatly to their mutual advantage, undeterred by differences in living conditions or citizenship. They saw in the general obligation to work a call to carry out the *opus Dei*, to accomplish and perfect, in the same spirit, creation in all its lines, for the glory and honor of the Creator. And when all these companions in labor throughout the world gathered, under the protection of the same heavenly patrons, on the occasion of certain feasts, at the foot of the altar to witness the Holy Sacrifice, this was not merely a pious ceremony carried out by a random group, but rather the union of all participating in the Sacrifice of Christ. They knew that Christ, the artisan of our redemption, had thereby supernaturally elevated all forms of human labor, had raised and established all the partial activities of men in a single *opus Dei*. "Through Him, with Him, and in Him is due to You, God, Almighty Father, in Union with the Holy Spirit, all honor and glory." That is why our hearts go out to the countless Catholic occupational associations that are increasingly realizing, in forms adapted to our times, the true unity of the kingdom of work, in order to heal the schism between classes and the disunity among professions.

The family and the state: unifying factors

86. The richness of human life's variety, which characterizes and supports humanity as a whole, is not limited to the unifying elements already set forth. It includes as well two other unifying factors which, as durable and stable institutions, further contribute to the unity of humanity. These social organisms, which are at the same time living societies, are the family and the state. In any period, wherever we see the spiritual and physical life of man flourishing, we always find the family and the state; they proceed from human nature itself, which was created as both spiritual and corporeal. By internal, natural necessity they are indispensable for humanity, which must, in order to fulfill its spiritual and religious goal, constantly add new members well prepared to play their role, and establish a stable order within its community of life and work.

Religious character of the family and the state

87. By their origin, because they proceed from the nature common to all men as it was created by God, and by their inherent goal of achieving the unity of humanity which the Creator also intended for His honor and glory, these two societies, the family and the state, have always worn the halo of a religious consecration. As for the family, in Paradise we already see it in its initial state of happiness; from that time on, marriage was the foundation of the family, and had the character of a religious pact. Even among pagans, the memory of this has been preserved in various forms; when Christ our Lord came he raised the marriage contract between man and woman to the dignity of a sacrament. The matrimonial community's lofty origin also sanctifies the family society, into which, moreover, the Man-God himself consented to enter during his sojourn here below. He even submitted

to the sacred yoke of authority within the family, an authority proceeding from God, "the husband being the head of the family and the wife the heart." By his example, He both ennobled and confirmed the duty of obedience to parents, a duty in which an original law of human nature is expressed, a law the Creator has inscribed within men's hearts.

88. Similarly, the religious character of the state results from the fact that its authority also proceeds from God, and that person who holds that authority is acting as a "servant of God." Furthermore, this fact also shows that the organization of men into states, considered independently of original sin, is a necessary consequence of human nature as it was constituted by the Creator. Being a citizen of a state fundamentally implies a religious duty and a religious dignity. So-called primitive peoples retain a dim consciousness of this: solemn ceremonies mark the initiation of young people into the tribe, which is like an embryonic organized state. Among the most highly developed pagan peoples, we also find various manifestations of this religious character recognized in the community of the state. It is therefore neither to the honor nor to the advantage of the modern state in a Christian country, and it is naturally also not the fault of the Church, if the majority of present-day states rarely or never agree to recognize overtly the religious character of the state's constitution, or even completely deny it.

True scope of the notion of the family

89. After this explanation of the importance of the family and the state for the unity of humanity, it will be easily seen that absolutely everywhere men are aware that when the family and the state come under attack, the very foundation of their life in common is threatened. In fact, in our own time, the family, as a psychological, juridical, and economic unity, is very gravely affected, as can be clearly seen from many passages in Our Letter.

If in spite of everything the family still appears to be the cell most capable of resisting the social body, that is the proof that it is rooted in the very heart of human nature. Of course, human nature must be understood here as completely involved in the internal unity of its spiritual-corporeal life; for it is only when it is understood in this way that it is the root of the family, and not when it is understood as simply a certain source of physico-organic characteristics, considered in themselves and independently. Only because it is the internal unity of a life that is both spiritual and corporeal is human nature the root of the family—which should henceforth be conceived as the "spiritual womb" in which human society takes form. The family in fact provides all the elements necessary for human life in society, all the formative, necessary influences, with regard to both the soul and the body. All considered, this amounts to saying that the members of a social community are what their families are. The importance of the care we ought to have for the family in its full and true scope follows from everything we have just said. On the other hand, despite the grandiose words used, a false conception of this care for the family is drawn from the erroneous proposition that "It is from the blood, the seat of racial characteristics and their principal source, that proceed all man's intellectual and moral qualities." Here, in contradiction to the teaching of the Catholic faith, sound philosophy, and experience as well, human nature, the family, and of course also marriage are considered solely in their corporeal aspect. Consequently, this way of conceiving care for the family leads toward a disastrous result and disastrous means of achieving it that are sometimes and in some ways wholly scandalous with regard to morality.

Sickness of the state

90. It is not only this development of the family that worries men today; the development of the state is an equally great cause

for concern. In this development we are in fact justified in seeing a threat to the foundation of human society and its unity. In the first part of Our Letter We have explained the source of the modern state's sickness; the latter consists in the fact that the state is in some ways too small, and in other ways too great; the authority of the state is pushed too far in some regards, and destroyed in others. In addition, if energetic measures are not taken, the state faces a terrible crisis, a crisis in the very idea of the state, and one which will end up being the true crisis of human social life.

Essential remedy for the state

91. As regards the domain of the state's activity, salvation must first be sought in this direction: the Church must return to her essential functions. By doing so, she will ensure the proper development of the social organizations that are constituted, founded on the common appurtenance of men to a place and a profession; organizations which, as natural though not essential societies of life in common, have in principle an inherent right, not derived from the state, to govern themselves, and normally must be recognized by public law. When that happens, the state is relieved of a burden, and the development of men in their natural capacity for life is furthered at intermediate stages; this permits them to shape a unified social will without anything unreasonable being required of individuals.

Relations among states

92. Relations among states are currently deteriorating as well. We have expressed Our view on this several times earlier in the first part of this Letter. We have discovered a very precise cause for this deterioration, namely a dynamism peculiar to the modern

state. This dynamism constantly attacks the already rather weak links between states, and threatens to break them altogether, thus completely destroying the unity of the human family that includes all men and all peoples. We, who through Our God-given office are the father of all men, do not wish and must not allow this to happen. For all peoples are brothers in justice and love, not only by virtue of their nature—this much, to the shame of our present-day civilization, was acknowledged even by pagans such as the Stoics—but also, especially, and far more profoundly, in their brotherhood through the Redeemer of the world.

Court of justice

93. This fraternal unity of peoples must be given visible expression by establishing a Court of Justice with its own authority, in appropriate cases, over all peoples. In the event of conflicts between peoples, this Court of Justice would have the power to summon them before its bar for a fair trial, or to make known its opinion, and if necessary, to render a decision binding on all parties to cases under its arbitration. Eminent Church doctors such as Saint Augustine, Saint Thomas Aquinas, and Saint Robert Bellarmine, and great theologians such as Francis of Vitoria and Francis Suarez, have set forth the principles of international law; they unanimously affirm that because the social nature of man is capable of constant improvement, it requires from within such a common institution among states. If sovereignty is properly understood, no infringement of the sovereignty of individual states will result from such an institution.

Undoubtedly, this institution presupposes that all men share the same spiritual attitude, and this is clear from the failure of the efforts that have already been made. This attitude can take root only in Christian teaching, which includes true natural law, and of which the Church must be recognized as the depository and

distributor, continuing in the role that she has already so often fulfilled in her mission of peace.

II. *The Plurality of Humanity*

94. Thus humanity, because of the supernatural and natural principles on which it is founded, constitutes a genuine unity which is invested with the Holy Spirit, the spirit of Order and Love. In the kingdom of this spirit on our earth, "citizens are united with citizens, peoples with peoples, and in sum, all men are united in the memory of their first parents, not only by a bond of sociability, but also by a bond of fraternity," as Saint Augustine splendidly put it.⁸

False internationalism

Hence Christians must not allow themselves to fall into the kind of humanitarianism found in all the possible forms of an internationalism that mixes and confuses all sorts of things and peoples. The reason is that humanity assuredly constitutes a genuine unity, but a unity within a well-ordered plurality. And for the same reason, it appears that humanity finds its origin and mode of development in the spirit, and first of all, in the Holy Spirit, which cannot produce, approve, and sanctify a social life in which there is neither order nor unity in plurality. And the same father of the Church, Saint Augustine, rises up in opposition to precisely this state of mind, which mixes and confuses everything absolutely indiscriminately, and considers only the absolute character of being a man. Once again, Saint Augustine calls upon the Holy Spirit to establish the foundation of relationships within humanity, among persons and among groups. Speaking of the terrestrial realm of the spirit, he exclaims: "it is certain that we are not obliged to provide all things to everyone, but we

are obliged to love everyone, and injustice toward anyone is unacceptable."⁹

The fact of plurality

95. If we abstract from persons and families as constituting the primary, intangible, original, and stable element of social life, plurality in humanity is manifested through the formation of countless groups. We are concerned here only with groups that form one body with human nature and the unfolding of its life. The formation of such groups is dependent upon the common characteristics of man's physical or spiritual attributes; it can also be dependent upon certain general conditions that result from man's life in space and time. In addition, the basis for the constitution of groups is provided by being involved together for a long time in the same sort of work, and also by having the same conditions of life on the economic and social level. Further, human nature, by its essential, irresistible disposition to live in states, provides the occasion and inner impulses for forming various social unities. Finally, by Divine decree, Christ, "the cornerstone the builders rejected," is Himself at the origin of the formation of a society. This multiplicity of groups, which moreover intersect each other in various ways, conceals within it, by the diversity of the interests involved, the danger of fractions and conflicts. But anyone who considers the unity of all men, first of all in humanity, and then in the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of true order and of love, must be prepared to give, not everything to everyone, to be sure, but to each his own, and thereby help avoid the danger We mentioned.

The formation of separate groups

96. In the very formation of groups a process of particularization, separation, differentiation occurs. But we must always insist

that this is never anything but a particularism *within the overall human unity*; unaided reason declares it and Christian revelation teaches it very firmly, as We have already repeatedly shown. This being the case, it is appropriate, in discussing this particularism in connection with its intimate and necessary relationships to humanity as a whole, to establish in very general terms a few doctrinal points, both negative and positive.

Three criteria of the falsity of a human grouping

97. Let us take first the negative points. These all derive from the proposition that no group, no particular social organism, can constitute a genuine human unity unless it is connected with the general unity of humanity. Within this fundamental proposition are included, if we analyze it, three criteria or value judgments. The *first* is this: A group which, by the way it is established and its members bonded, suppresses and destroys the inviolable source of humanity itself, namely, the internal unity and liberty of the human person and the internal unity of the family, is itself marked with the sign of inherent falsity and non-value. The *second*: A group which, because of its own social type, pursues goals and proclaims values that contradict objective goals and values constituting the inner unity of humanity, is also marked with the sign of inherent falsity and non-value. The *third*: A group that claims, for its own advantage, an extensive totality, that is, one which, because of its own goal and the value it attributes to itself, seeks to determine the content of all other goals, all other values of social life, makes a mockery of the fundamental structure of humanity, with its ancient unity in its authentic plurality; such a group once again marks itself with the sign of inherent falsity and non-value.

Three criteria of a justifiable group

98. Here now are the positive doctrinal points. These all derive from the proposition that every group, every particular society, if it is truly a human unity, will bear fruit for humanity considered as a whole. This proposition can also be analyzed into three criteria or value judgments. The *first* is: The fecundity of a group is shown by a certain characteristic vigor, which is a source of consistency and solidity, and which the group provides for the families it brings together. The *second*: The special know-how with which the group grasps and realizes the general, objective goals of humanity enhances humanity's pursuit and achievement of these values and goals. The *third*: Every group, simply by living in accord with its own essence and all its demands, and by being in that way an intensive totality, supports and gives life to the internal edifice of humanity, namely its genuine unity in its genuine plurality.

One law for all

99. It may happen that, in the case of a particular group, a given goal is sometimes desirable and within reach; it can happen that a given means is useful for achieving it; but in that case, the goal does not constitute a real Good if it can be attained only by sacrificing the order of justice and love that ought to reign in this world. The basic principle and the three criteria set forth above in the negative propositions remain the primary rule, always and in all circumstances. Just as there is no special moral law for great geniuses, so there is no special rule of private morals for any people, whatever its degree of development, real or imagined, or for any other group. Hence it is clear that the negative propositions formulated above ultimately include a positive truth that repels any subterfuge, namely, that every result proceeding from

man, whether by commission or omission, must, in order to establish its final value, be measured by this rule: Does it put God's stamp still more deeply on the world, the stamp of the God of justice and love? Does it make still clearer, in the men who are acting, their resemblance to God?

When this is not the case, it makes no difference how useful and successful the results are; their realization makes no direct addition to their actual value, and it is therefore blasphemous when in such cases peoples and their leaders claim that their successes are proof of Divine benediction, as if success were a sign of particular favor.

100. These then are the doctrinal points, both negative and positive, that can in a general way be considered in relation to social particularisms and particular groups. We have been concerned to determine the mutual relationships among these groups, and to situate them within the general life of humanity. However, because of current circumstances, certain special points demand separate examination.

1. *The state: its proper function*

101. First of all, regarding the state. After the family, the state is the most important of the particular societies of natural social life. In accord with its origin and nature, it must be an organization that creates order to safeguard law and human well-being in society. It follows that it is the very essence of the state to recognize that all its members, without exception, have a right to equal protection of the law. And the law that it is called upon to safeguard can derive from no source other than the one from which the state derives, that is, from the order that is moral, universal, and valid for all men, including natural law: that is the supreme rule leading the state to safeguard law. This doctrine is valid in all circumstances, even when the state is composed solely

by members of a single race—a case that is hardly imaginable. If the state is to remain a genuine state, and fully realize itself in its natural function, that is, develop an intensive totality, then the following proposition must be absolutely rejected as false: "The primary source and supreme rule of all legal order is racial instinct." It goes without saying that the same would be true with regard to any given national instinct.

Mitigation of excessive state activity

102. In any case, the general re-awakening of the state's awareness of its true role, in the sense of a limit on its direct intervention, would lead it to mitigate the dynamism of the modern state, against which people are rebelling, and which is manifested within the state as well as in international relations. This would facilitate the organization of different states into a relatively effective, unified system based on international law, and this would in turn make it possible for individual states to work together to set up larger economic unities. In addition, by reducing the dynamism of the state in this way, the common, peaceful, and productive life of various groups, whether national or racial, within a single state entity would be facilitated. In fact, exaggerated direct activity of the state, especially in the area of spiritual life, has no doubt made more acute the deplorable current problem of so-called minorities and different national groups, and this hinders the pursuit of state unity, to the extent that the latter is legitimate.

When the state, conducting its life in accord with its proper function, has finally succeeded in gradually bringing back to life an awareness of moral and spiritual principles among members of its community, then it will deserve to be the object of the duty and virtue we call patriotism, and which is required by the moral order and by God.

2. Territorial nationality

103. It remains to say something about what is termed the unity of the people or association in a single community. It is clear that just as in the case of nature or race, when everyday language tries to define this kind of grouping, it does not always use the same terms. By the term "territorial nationality" (*peuple, Volk, Volkstum*) we may refer to an association of men more or less conscious of what they have in common, insofar and inasmuch as they were born on the same soil and are consequently permanently marked by the same personal characteristics.

Territorial nationality distinguished from the state

104. Such a territorial nationality, taken in and of itself, has no direct relation to the essentially political achievement constituted by the state. It would therefore be false to consider in advance as unnatural the fact that human groups belonging to different territorial nationalities may be brought together in one state, or that members of the same territorial nationality may live in different states. It would be equally false to claim that such a group has any absolute natural right or natural duty to seek political union with a state in which it is represented by a sizable minority of citizens. And it would be equally false for that state to claim any kind of sovereign power, no matter how and under whatever pretext, over a group of its own territorial nationality belonging to another state.

Territorial nationality in foreign lands

105. The falsity of such a claim also derives from the fact that it would be an inexhaustible source of concern in the world, and from a political point of view, would make members of that

community suspect throughout the world, and give other states legitimate reason to defend themselves against them with all the means at their disposal. That is why it is all the more clearly the duty of a territorial nationality that has members dispersed beyond its native soil, or which sends them to take up residence in foreign lands, to limit itself to not forgetting them, to helping them in time of need, and as for the rest, being proud to participate in a major way in the life of humanity by providing valuable men who have been shaped by their connection with the homeland. It is naturally inevitable that the new land where the emigrants have taken up residence should begin to exercise on them the formative social power it exercises on all those who live there together, and it would not even be legitimate to seek to prevent this. But the more the mother country's gift of its children is disinterested, the more it will receive in return from them in time of need. Many peoples of the old world have had this experience in recent years.

3. The nation

106. Our teaching on the relation among men in the body of the nation is similar to Our teaching on territorial nationality. Unlike the latter, the nation emerges from the circumstances of common life, not so much in the same place as in the same time. The nation is a large association of men who have common memories and whom a common tradition, particularly with regard to spiritual culture, has shaped and continues to shape. Like territorial nationality, this bond in the body of the nation has a powerful formative influence on the thought, will, and sensibility of individuals and families, and this consolidates the body of the nation itself; it stimulates and gives life to humanity's overall effort to achieve general goals, to realize the values assigned to man. That is why every citizen, exercising the virtue of piety, has the

duty to be grateful to his nation, to be attached to it, for it is above all the nation that maintains the common traditions, and it is the nation from which he proceeds and on which his life is dependent at all times.

The nation is distinct from the state

107. But just as in the case of territorial nationality, and for the same reasons, this bond within a national body does not in itself give us the direct right to conclude that belonging to a nation implies belonging to a given state. Belonging to a given state is in and of itself distinct from belonging to a nation. The opposite view, which is widespread, derives from a more or less artificial idea of the nation that relies far too much on a shared language, and takes far too little account of the bond—which is nonetheless of capital importance—between a national group and its collective historical tradition, and ultimately indicates less a nation than a state that is founded or to be founded on the basis of a shared language. We have personally experienced this. For the solution of the "Roman question" was made possible only by abandoning this false idea of the nation, which would necessarily have entailed the maintenance of the integrity of the state, and returning to the true idea of the state, which is based on history.

Nationalism

108. Consequently, all the conclusions at which We have arrived with regard to the relations with the state and with other states apply equally well to territorial nationality and to the nation. The nation has the right to fully develop its own nature, that is, to be intensively totalitarian; but it does not by itself have the exclusive right to control the legal order or the state, and still less the Church; it does not have the right to be extensively totali-

tarian. For in that case we would have nationalism. We are aware of the disagreeable overtones this word has already acquired in many languages. In it, a genuine perversion of the spirit is expressed. It is a grave criminal offense to urge men, and especially adolescents, to move in this direction, using every means at hand; and it is all the more criminal because it perverts the noble impulses of the soul that the nation and territorial nationality awaken in every man of sound mind and body. These impulses are profaned by being unjustly put in the service of politics and its goal of gaining power.

Duties to the nation

109. When on the other hand men, and especially young people, seek assiduously and faithfully to fulfill their entire duty with regard to their nation, they are acting in the right way, and fulfilling their obligations to the divine moral order, and in particular to natural law. Our Lord Jesus Christ himself did this when he taught the people of the Old Testament; it caused the Messias to weep over Jerusalem; it is in perfect accord with the feelings of the Church which, as a visible, historical society, cannot avoid encountering nations in a positive manner on the terrain of history.

Possibility of a second fatherland

110. Let us add this: Men can really give themselves another fatherland, they can really incorporate themselves into a second territorial nationality; similarly, through major events, it is possible for them to be gradually incorporated, without being forced to do so, into another complex of traditions, into another national society. To deny this would be to see man's life in common as having a rigidity which, because of its development in time and

space, it absolutely cannot have. Moreover, if it were rigid in this way, none of the existing nations would ever have been able to establish themselves.

4. *Race and racism*

111. When we arrive at the issue of race, we find a striking example of the harm caused by the false, sentimental, and almost mystical way of speaking that has been applied to the ideas of nation, people, and state. There is so little agreement, whether in scientific terminology or in common usage, with regard to the meaning of the terms "race" or "racial link" that we find them used today—and still more in the past—solely to designate a nation or a people. In addition, the expression "racial link" usually signifies, in modern scientific vocabulary, certain definite physical characteristics which are permanent and common to a group of human beings. In relation with the physical constitution, which is itself marked by these bodily traits, we constantly observe certain mental characteristics. If the term "race" is used to refer only to these obvious facts, and if the individual racial characteristics are not assumed to remain constant over too long a time, then the use of this term remains within the limits of verifiable observation.

Negation of human unity

112. But the term "racism" is used to refer to a great deal more than that. Then the word contradicts the negative conclusions already established in this Letter, which are based on the teachings of the Faith, on the testimony of philosophy and other branches of knowledge, and on experience as well. It contradicts them with regard to the authentic divisions within human social life. It contradicts in both theory and practice the principle that categories

or genuinely human lines of separation cannot be admitted unless they themselves participate in what forms the common bond of humanity. For the theory and practice of racism, with their distinction between superior and inferior races, ignore the unifying bond whose existence is demonstrated by the three kinds of testimony mentioned above, or at least they deprive it of any practical scope. One has a right to be surprised that, confronted by these facts, there are still people who claim that the doctrine and practice of racism have nothing to do with Catholic teaching on faith and morals, nothing to do with philosophy, and that they remain a purely political issue.

Negation of human personality

113. Our surprise at this incomprehension increases when the three criteria proposed to reinforce these negative conclusions are applied to racism. The first criterion showed that the inner unity and free will of the human person were necessary conditions for founding any genuine human society. But if the racial community is to be the source of all other forms of society, the human person's inner unity and free will have to be guaranteed. Racism does not accord the human person its rights and its importance in the formation of society. It claims that the fact that individuals have the same blood irresistibly involves them in a single current of physical and psychological characteristics. Any other explanation makes it impossible to understand the hopeless position racism assigns to the races it considers inferior. Any other interpretation fails to account completely for the mechanism of racist legislation that judges all individuals of a given race by means of the same ethnic formula.

114. How can we reconcile these views with the basic personality, with the physical, special, psychological unity represented by each individual? How can they be reconciled with the multiple

influences of the material and spiritual environment? For only tendencies and nothing more can be inherited through the blood, not definitive, already formed qualities. And the development of character—leaving aside the possible effects of man's free will—is affected by the environment, and especially as regards upbringing, at least insofar as the psychological tendencies that depend on the physical organism are concerned.

115. These remarks suffice to show that many of the primordial doctrines of Catholic faith and morals have been ignored by racism: for instance, the doctrines concerning the human person, free will, the unity of soul and body, and finally divine grace, with regard not only to its efficacy but also to its mode of operation. Racism also contradicts many truths affirmed by philosophy and modern science, which the Church cannot and will not ignore.

Negation of the true values of morality and religion

116. The same close relationship with the doctrines of faith, morals, and science appears when racism is subjected to the second criterion We established earlier in discussing the undeniable unity of the human race. We said in particular that when a group's social constitution affirms goals and values in opposition to those that objectively serve the bond of humanity, it betrays by this very fact its inner mendacity and poverty. But racism denies, practically if not theoretically, that there are objective goals and values common to humanity as a whole.

117. Let us examine racism's moral teaching, whose essential thesis We have recently been obliged to condemn. "The strength of the race and the purity of its blood must be preserved and preserved: any means that serves this end is, for that reason alone, good and legitimate." That is the rule of racist morality. We ask: Doesn't such a principle deny the existence of an objective moral

order valid for all men and all times? Doesn't it abandon that order to the arbitrary will and instinct of particular races?

118. Nevertheless, even the pagans acknowledged the existence of this universal moral order when they saw its origin in a divine and simple principle. Aristotle observes:¹⁰ "He who asks that law govern is asking that God and reason alone govern." Cicero says the same.¹¹ Among the Christians, Saint Jerome says:¹² "One law, written in our hearts, extends to all nations, and no man is unaware of this law." Finally, Saint Augustine: "There is no soul capable of reasonable thought in which God does not make his law heard."¹³

119. In any case, the existence of a natural moral law, which all men carry in their hearts, and which is written by the Creator, is taught by Holy Scripture.¹⁴ Hence the racist rule of morality is once again in conflict with Catholic teaching in matters of faith and morals. It constitutes in addition a permanent threat to the security of public and private life, and to every kind of peace and order in the world. This world has become aware of the crisis it is suffering. In the past, this crisis was already not primarily social and economic in nature, and under the influence of this destructive doctrine it has developed objectively into an immense crisis of all morality.

Religion is not subordinated to race

120. But racism is not satisfied with denying the value of a universal moral order as a blessing that unites humankind; it further denies that essential values have an equal and general role to play in the domains of economy, art, science, and above all, religion. It maintains, for instance, that each race should have its own science, which is to have nothing in common with the science of another race, especially if that race happens to be inferior. Although the unity of the whole of human culture is

important to Catholic faith and to morality, let us limit ourselves here to considering only the relations between race and religion. Concerning this connection, we have recently drawn attention to the false racist thesis that asserts that "Religion is subordinated to the law of the race and must be adapted to that law." In their research, noted scientists have compared various peoples and also the differing stages of development of peoples taken individually. They have declared that there is no direct connection between race and religion: the result of their studies is, on the contrary, to demonstrate the religious unity of humanity.

121. As soon as a philosophy succeeds in clarifying the essential elements of religion, the absurd contradiction that implies that religion could ever be the result of a purely human aspiration explodes. This is, however, the thesis that racism is forced to defend. On the contrary, religion is based on the relation between the human person and a personal Being distinct from man, and on which man totally depends.

122. Above all, our Catholic faith teaches us as a fundamental truth that there is one God for all men and for all races, "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Ephesians 1:3). The Christian religion, the only true religion, is thereby fundamentally adapted to all and ordained for all races. Anyone who denies this truth contradicts an essential manifestation of the Church's life, which is, moreover, expressed in the universal mission with which she was entrusted by her Founder: "All power over heaven and earth was given to me. Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you" (Matthew 28:19-20).

The conduct of the Church, insofar as it is the continuation of the life of Christ who, as the Man-God, is simultaneously true God and true Man, is precisely and necessarily adapted to all authentic human conditions and all historical, legitimate devel-

opments of peoples and groups. It puts no people or group under any constraint in order to impose on it anything contrary to its true nature. But no one can receive the Christian religion in any way other than as a pure grace and gift, as an obligation laid upon him by God. Consequently, he cannot change it in any way, otherwise it ceases to be the Christian religion. Indeed, the loss of its objective and obligatory character would cause religion to lose completely its characteristic of universality.

Racism destroys the structure of society

123. Simple respect for reality, as manifested in its consistency, in the light of divine revelation, many sciences, and experience, does not allow the Catholic to remain silent when confronted by racism. For as a Catholic, respect for what is must always be his essential trait. Therefore it must be repeated that racism cannot stand up to the test of the third negative criterion already established. According to this criterion, any group that claims an extensive totality, that is, which judges the content of all other purposes and values from the standpoint of its own purpose and fundamental scale of values, destroys the basic structure on which humanity depends in order to achieve true unity in authentic plurality. Thereby it reveals its inner falsity and its poverty. Now, this is precisely what racism does, either in its theory or in its practice. It makes the fact of racial grouping so central to its system, assigns it such an exclusive significance and efficacy, that in comparison all other social bonds and groupings no longer have a distinct, relatively independent individuality or foundation in law. Through an abusive extension of racial values, the entire life of society is reduced to a totality whose unity is wholly mechanical. It is deprived of precisely that form that the spirit gave it: true unity in real plurality.

124. When racial value is oversimplified and made central and

exclusive, it confuses and obliterates all other notions. Through its totalitarian extension, it realizes a type of society that exactly resembles the internationalist society that racism claims to oppose and that We Ourselves are combating. Its concept of the world is too simple, primitively simple.

Young people exposed to these ideas about the world become fanatical when they accept them, and nihilistic when they reject them. Both attitudes are possible if hearts and minds have become incapable of appreciating the manifold riches of the True and the Good, riches which, in their broad extent and unity, can only be the heritage of an authentic spiritual life.

Disastrous effects on youth and on education

125. Wretched youth, wretched parents, wretched teachers, to whom the fundamental law of racist education offers no viewpoint other than fanaticism or nihilism! Let Us lay before the whole world this shameful educational principle, which We recently stigmatized as false: "The goal of education is to develop the race's characteristics and to inflame the mind with an ardent love for its own race, considered as the supreme good." For the young people whom such a doctrine threatens to lead into spiritual destitution and decay, We cannot pray too fervently to Him who is the divine Teacher, the one who in His own Person offered a perfect model that united, with incomparable breadth and magnitude, the natural and the supernatural in their totality. We shall pray to Him who said: "I came that they may have life and have it more abundantly" (John 10:10).

The diversity of races

126. Would that the world were free of this mistaken and harmful racism that erects rigid barriers between superior, inferior,

and indigenous races, and assumes invariable differences in blood! Certainly there exist today more or less perfect, more or less developed races, if they are measured by the outward manifestations of their cultural life. But these differences are determined by the environment, in the sense that, setting aside the effects of the exercise of free will, only through the influence of the environment could fundamental racial characteristics develop in one or another manner, and continue to develop. Even if we grant that these primary tendencies, or those that later emerge on account of race, set the direction and even the limits of this development and the influence of the environment, they do not provide the basis for essential differences that might arise among particular races with regard to religious, moral, and cultural life. This truth emerges from the teaching we derive from revelation as well as from philosophy and other branches of knowledge.

Influence of the environment

127. These teachings tend to demonstrate the original and essential unity of the human race, along with the fact that its fundamental tendencies are not due to primitive differences of blood but solely to the influence of the environment, including the spiritual environment. Some large, isolated human groups have been subjected to such an influence over long periods of time. In that respect the positive development of various racial tendencies, through the diversity of particular races, occurs in exactly the same way as the development of other elements shaping human communities. These tendencies put on the whole the clear stamp of a vital individuality, and enrich the life of humanity as a whole. The only influence in this fertile and positive development of different races in the world today—again, apart from the influence of human freedom—is in the favorable or unfavorable disposition of the past or present environment.

Practical consequences for colonization

128. Logically, then, the existence of more or less developed races implies no race question, whether we consider it from the standpoint of biology or of theology in the sense of divine election or rejection. In principle and in practice, the matter comes down to the influence of the environment. If the colonizing nations, urged on by political ambitions and the thirst for material gain, neglect their duty to raise the cultural level of certain human groups by means of beneficent political, social, and economic measures, and in that way fail to imitate the constant example of the Church in her missionary work, and if in certain cases they even keep the colonized peoples at this inferior level, then they are violating the elementary principles of Christian morality and natural law. These principles concerning the respective rights of the colonizers and the indigenous peoples were, moreover, set forth by the Church shortly after the discovery of the New World. In spite of the frequent, deplorable offenses men driven by avarice and political ambition then committed against these principles, the latter nevertheless left their imprint. Thus today we see that they have been adopted among the proud, powerful peoples of South America, who have a bright future. This is a living proof, let us note, of the execution of divine plans in the diversity and mixture of races. On the other hand, what would have been the result had racism exercised its destructive power without constraint in the colonization of these regions? No doubt something analogous to what would have happened to the leading role of European peoples—themselves a mixture of diverse races—had they been “purified” by racism.

129. Although not based on its more recent assumptions, racism long exercised its pernicious influence on certain parts of the American continent. There, the idea of a fixed distinction between inferior and superior races has been kept alive not so much

by the surrounding circumstances as by the artificial nurturing of prejudices. And the application of this idea is carried out by unleashing the basest human instincts in the so-called lynch law. And it is still evident in those who are and wish to be branches of Christ, members of His mystical Body, and yet who as a matter of principle or practice are not willing to acknowledge that the House of God is open to all races and is the visible expression of their brotherhood in Christ.

Recommendations on race relations

130. That is why men of good will should do everything they can to put an end to all unmistakably defamatory and discriminatory distinctions in public life, so that relations among social groups may be regulated solely by interracial justice and charity. But no one will reasonably consider as discriminatory such differences and social separations as brotherly love and prudence may counsel to the advantage of all the different races in view of their actual circumstances. Just as there are unwritten matrimonial impediments arising from differences of age, education, social conditions and origin, and even from bodily conditions, which the prudence of parents, the wisdom of those immediately concerned, and an experienced pastoral guidance have always been wont to consider, so there are also such actual, even if not unchangeable and rigidly normative, circumstances in the relations of the races. The races will observe them in their own interest, in accordance with the oft-quoted words of Saint Augustine: “we are not obliged to provide all things to everyone, but we are obliged to love everyone, and injustice toward anyone is unacceptable.”¹⁵ These unwritten matrimonial impediments between races are preferable to written ones, particularly if written impediments would attack the personal rights of individuals and the institution of matrimony as a Sacrament instituted by Christ and exclusively

subject to the Church. And rightly so, for what a fearful insult to a race and what a degradation of humanity is committed when marriage between the members of different racial groups is systematically prohibited yet none take offense at unlawful sexual intercourse between members of different groups!

5. *Jews and anti-Semitism (religious separation)*

131. Those who have placed race illegitimately on a pedestal have rendered mankind a disservice. For they have done nothing to advance the unity to which humanity tends and aspires. One naturally wonders if this end is faithfully pursued by many of the principal advocates of a so-called racial purity or if their aim is not rather to forge a clever slogan to move the masses to very different ends. This suspicion grows when one envisages how many subdivisions of a single race are judged and treated differently by the same men at the same time. It is further increased when it becomes clear that the struggle for racial purity ends by being uniquely the struggle against the Jews. Save for its systematic cruelty, this struggle is no different in true motives and methods from persecutions everywhere carried out against the Jews since antiquity. These persecutions have been censured by the Holy See on more than one occasion, but especially when they have worn the mantle of Christianity.

The present persecution of the Jews

132. As a result of such persecution, millions of persons are deprived of the most elementary rights and privileges of citizens in the very land of their birth. Denied legal protection against violence and robbery, exposed to every form of insult and public degradation, innocent persons are treated as criminals though they have scrupulously obeyed the law of their native land. Even those who in time of war fought bravely for their country are treated

as traitors, and the children of those who laid down their lives in their country's behalf are branded as outlaws by the very fact of their parentage. The values of patriotism, so loudly invoked for the benefit of one class of citizens, are ridiculed when invoked for others who come under the racial ban.

In the case of the Jews, this flagrant denial of human rights sends many thousands of helpless persons out over the face of the earth without any resources. Wandering from frontier to frontier, they are a burden to humanity and to themselves.

Question not of race but of religion

133. But however unjust and pitiless, this campaign against the Jews has at least this advantage, if one can put it so, over racial strife, that it recalls the true nature, the authentic basis of the social separation of the Jews from the rest of humanity. This basis is directly religious in character. Essentially, the so-called Jewish question is not one of race, or nation, or territorial nationality, or citizenship in the state. It is a question of religion and, since the coming of Christ, a question of Christianity.

How utterly misguided is such a policy toward the Jews, how harmful and ineffective for the very purposes it seeks to accomplish, can only be seen when we compare it with what the Church has ever taught and practiced in this connection, and with the lessons of history.

Position of the Church with Regard to Judaism

Teachings of Revelation

134. If we look upon the matter from the historical standpoint, we find that in the history of the human race only one people has had a calling, properly so called. This is the Jewish people,

who were chosen by Almighty God to prepare the way in history for the Incarnation of His Only-Begotten Son. "Who are the Israelites, who have the adoption as sons, and the glory and the covenants and the legislation and the worship and the promises; who have the fathers, and from whom is the Christ according to the flesh...?" (Romans 4:4-5).

135. The vocation of the Jewish people culminated in a wholly unique and unprecedented historical occurrence that interrupted and transformed the history of the world. At a definite moment in time, in a definite locality, in one of the tribes of the Jewish people, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, the person who had been announced and awaited by the prophets of Israel for centuries was born from a Jewish mother: Jesus Christ. His mission and his teaching were the completion of the historic mission and teaching of Israel; His birth, life, sufferings, death, and resurrection from the dead were the fulfillment of Israel's types and prophecies. Extraordinary as was this occurrence, it was linked with another no less extraordinary and also unprecedented in history. The Savior, whom God had sent to His chosen people after they had prayed and longed for Him for thousands of years, was rejected by that people, violently repudiated, and condemned as a criminal by the highest tribunals of the Jewish nation, in collusion with the pagan authorities who held the Jewish people in bondage. Ultimately, the Savior was put to death.

Through the sufferings and death of the Savior, the work of the Redemption was wrought for all humanity; the sins of the world were taken away; the doors of Heaven were opened; man was restored by the Second Adam to the privileges from which he had been excluded by the sin of his first parents, and the spiritual kingdom of Christ was established for eternity. The Redemption opened the doors of salvation to the entire human race; it established a universal Kingdom, in which there would be no distinction of Jew or Gentile, Greek or barbarian. The very

act by which the Jewish people put to death their Savior and King was, in the strong language of Saint Paul, the salvation of the world.

136. On the other hand, blinded by a vision of material domination and gain, the Israelites lost what they themselves had sought. A few chosen souls, among whom were the disciples and followers of Our Lord, the early Jewish Christians, and, through the centuries, a few members of the Jewish people, were an exception to this general rule. By their acceptance of Christ's teaching and their incorporation into His Church, they shared in the inheritance of His glory, but they remained and still remain an exception. "What Israel was seeking after, that it has not obtained; but the chosen have obtained it, and the rest have been blinded" (Romans 11:7). Saint Paul adds: "But by their offense," that is, through the Jews' rejection of the Messiah, "salvation has come to the Gentiles" (Romans 11:11).

Moreover, by a mysterious Providence of God, this unhappy people, destroyers of their own nation, whose misguided leaders had called down upon their own heads a Divine malediction, doomed, as it were, to perpetually wander over the face of the earth, were nonetheless never allowed to perish, but have been preserved through the ages into our own time. No natural reason appears to be forthcoming to explain this age-long persistence, this indestructible coherence of the Jewish people.

Saint Paul's teachings

137. Addressing the Gentiles, Saint Paul clearly indicates the apparent contradiction between the unbelief of the Jews and the providential part that God's Providence has permitted them to play in the world's salvation. But he goes further still, and points out that there is no reason to despair of Israel's salvation, since the Redemption accomplished through the rejection of the

Savior and His death extends its fruits not to the Gentiles alone, but also to the very people who rejected Him, on the sole condition that this people repent and accept Him as their Redeemer. "So they too have not now believed by reason of the mercy shown you, that they too may obtain mercy" (Romans 11:31).

138. Although the Gentile world, in so far as it is converted to the teachings of Christ, now shares in the fruits of those promises which were rejected by the Jews, the Gentiles are not to boast. In a striking metaphor, Saint Paul compares the people of Israel to an olive tree, onto which have been grafted branches from a wild olive (Romans 11:16-24). The root of this tree, the patriarchs of the Old Law, is holy; and so, at least through their original vocation, are its branches. Certain branches, however—the unbelieving Jews—have fallen from the tree. In contrast to this, branches of wild olive—the pagans—have been engrafted upon the natural olive. These, however, even after their conversion to the true faith and their incorporation into the Church of Christ, are to remember three things: first, that they possess this supernatural life solely thanks to the root and sap of the natural olive; second, that they, the non-Jewish Christians, do not carry the root, but the root carries them, that is to say, Judea does not receive salvation from the Gentiles, but rather the opposite is true; third, that the Gentiles themselves, if they apostatize from the Faith of Christ, and live in presumption and blind self-confidence, can perfectly well share the unhappy lot of the fallen branches. "They were broken off because of unbelief, whereas thou by faith standest. Be not high-minded, but fear" (Romans 11:20).

139. Saint Paul, however, is not content with warning the Gentiles against undue self-confidence. He goes further, and holds out still the possibility of salvation to the Jews, once they are converted from their sins, and return to the spiritual tradition of Israel, which is properly theirs by their historic past and calling, but in which the Gentiles, through grace, have been made par-

ticipants. If and when this time of their return occurs, whether in the case of individuals—as has always happened through the centuries and continues to happen in our own times—or in the case of the Jewish people as a whole, those who come back to Christ find themselves wholly at home in their own house, more than any other people in the world.

Even in Saint Paul's own day, as at all times, there was a "remnant saved." *Reliquiae salvae factae sunt* (Romans 11:5). So, with prophetic voice, the Apostle points to the future, to the conversion of the Gentiles as the forerunner of the conversion of the Jews and their return to their Father's house: all Israel, *omnis Israel*, not as meaning each individual, but the Jewish people as a whole.

140. Israel has incurred the wrath of God, because it has rejected the Gospel. Yet even thereby it has hastened the evangelization and, as a result, the conversion of the Gentiles. Israel remains the chosen people, for its election has never been revoked. Through the ineffable mercy of God, Israel also may share in the redemption which Israel's own rejection has made available to the Gentiles, who had themselves been unbelievers. "For God has shut up all in unbelief, that he may have mercy upon all" (Romans 11:32). "Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God!" (Romans 11:33).

Historical results of the fall of Israel

141. But this profound paradox, existing in the invisible, purely supernatural order, has worked itself out in the inevitable occurrences of history. As a result of the rejection of the Messiah by His own people, and of His corresponding acceptance by the Gentile world, which had not shared in the special promises delivered to the Jews, we find a historic enmity of the Jewish people to Christianity, creating a perpetual tension between Jew and

Gentile which the passage of time has never diminished, even though from time to time its manifestations have been mitigated.

The Church's reservations

142. The lofty concept the Church has forever held relative to the vocation of the Jewish people as seen from their past history, and her ardent hopes for their eventual salvation in the future, do not blind her to the spiritual dangers to which contact with Jews can expose souls, or make her unaware of the need to safeguard her children against spiritual contagion. Nor is this need diminished in our own time. As long as the unbelief of the Jewish people persists, as long as there is active hostility to the Christian religion, just so long must the Church use every effort to see that the effects of this unbelief and hostility are not to redound to the ruin of the faith and morals of her own members. Where, moreover, she finds that hatred of the Christian religion has driven misguided souls, whether of the Jewish people or of other origin, to ally themselves with, or actively to promote revolutionary movements that aim to destroy society and to obliterate from the minds of men the knowledge, reverence, and love of God, she must warn her children against such movements, expose the ruses and fallacies of their leaders, and find against them appropriate safeguards.

We find that in her history the Church has never failed to warn her children against the teaching of the Jews, when such teaching has been directed against the Faith. The Church has never sought to minimize the terrific force of the reproaches addressed by the protomartyr Saint Stephen against those of the Jewish people who knowingly resisted the call of grace: "Stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ear..." (Acts 7:51). The Church has warned likewise against an over-familiarity with the Jewish community that might lead to customs and ways of think-

ing contrary to the standards of Christian life. The unyielding energy, at one time, and the mildness, at another, of such warnings and measures of self-protection correspond not to any interior change in the Church's policy toward the Jews, which remains unaltered, but to altered circumstances and to variations of attitude upon their part. The policy of the Church herself in this matter is not to be confounded with the policy of mere individuals. It is to be determined by the conduct of her bishops taken as a whole, her councils, especially the ecumenical councils, and most particularly by that of her Supreme Pontiffs.

143. While, however, the teaching of the Church concerning the relation of the Jewish community with the Christian community, as well as the Church's practical attitude in the face of the problems encountered clearly demonstrate the need for energetic measures to preserve both the faith and morals of her members and society itself against the corrupting influence of error, these same doctrines likewise show the utter unfitness and inefficacy of anti-Semitism as a means of achieving that end. They show anti-Semitism not only as pitifully inadequate, but also as defeating its own purpose, and producing in the end only greater obstacles to cope with.

Condemnation of anti-Semitism

144. That such persecutory methods are totally at variance with the true spirit of the Catholic Church is shown by the decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office for March 25, 1928: "The Catholic Church habitually prays for the Jewish people who were the bearers of the Divine revelation up to the time of Christ; this, despite, indeed, on account of, their spiritual blindness. Actuated by this love, the Apostolic See has protected this people against unjust oppression and, just as every kind of envy and jealousy among the nations must be disapproved of, so in an especial

manner must be that hatred which is generally termed anti-Semitism" (*Acta Ap. Sedis*, 20, 1928).

Ecclesiae enim Catholica pro populo Judaico, qui divinarum usque ad Jesum Christum promissionum depositarius fuit, non obstante subsequente ejus obcaecatione, immo hujus ipsius obcaecationis causa, semper orare consuevit. Qua caritate permota Apostolica Sedes eundem populum contra injustas vexationes protexit, et quemadmodum omnes invidias ac simultates inter populos reprobavit, ita vel maxime damnat odium nempe illud, quod vulgo "antisemitismi" nomine nunc significari solet.

Persecutions only increase the evils

145. History's long experience has repeatedly shown that persecution, instead of obliterating or lessening the harmful or anti-social traits of a persecuted group, merely intensifies the tendencies that gave rise to them. What previously was but a moderately effective and inchoate tendency of individuals or small groups is solidified by persecution into a generalized, vehemently accentuated and persistent complex of traits that thrive upon opposition. The victims of persecution believe they find eternal justification for manifesting such traits in the very measures of repression and persecution that were supposed to cure them.

Effects of persecution

146. The terrible consequences that have befallen society since those words were spoken, consequences resulting from the unwillingness of the world's rulers to listen to the Vicar of Christ's pleas for charity and peace, have amply demonstrated the ease with which destructive ideologies are implanted in the minds of peoples aroused to fury by persecution. Those who suffer injustice themselves not infrequently become the devotees of injustice.

Their bitter resentment against their own pitiable condition leads them to wreak or attempt to wreak their vengeance upon those who appear to enjoy a more fortunate position. So we find that the persecuted and oppressed of every nation or class readily lend ear to those who would profit by this resentment, and would stir up social or international hatreds in their hearts. A natural resentment against political, social, or economic oppressors becomes, under the facile nurture of modern instruments for the spread of ideas and the manipulation of public opinion, a fertile seed-ground for the most destructive ideas, whose advocates, though professing the most violent antagonism to one another, are united in their common hatred for the Christian faith.

Such a spirit, however, cannot be profitably met by a similar demonstration of hatred, which would only pour oil on the flames. Nor can it be profitably met by a reckless dissemination of falsehoods and calumnies. Though Christ our Lord suffered torments and death at the hands of the wicked Pharisees, He did not bid His followers to borrow the weapons of calumny, hatred, and pride from the persecutors, in order to deal with those unfortunate people whom the Pharisees had misled.

Attacks on religion

147. Zeal against the sin readily becomes zeal against the sinner; but zeal against the sinner soon throws off its mask and shows itself for what it really is, an assault, under the pretense of protecting society from a single social group, upon the very basis of society, an evocation of limitless hatred, a license for every form of violence, rapacity, and disorder, and an engine against religion itself.

Thus we find that anti-Semitism becomes an excuse for attacking the sacred Person of the Savior Himself, who assumed human flesh as the Son of a Jewish maiden; it becomes a war

against Christianity, its teachings, practices, and institutions. Anti-Semitism attempts to embarrass the Church by giving her the alternative either to join with the anti-Semites in their total repudiation of any esteem or regard for anything Jewish, and thereby to associate herself with the anti-Semites in their campaigns of vilification and hatred; or else to embarrass the Church by involving her in the machinations and struggles of profane politics, attributing earthly and political motives to her legitimate defense of the Christian principles of justice and humanity. Like the willful children spoken of by Christ our Savior, these sowers of dissension complain of the Spouse of Christ: "To what then shall I liken the men of this generation? And what are they like? They are like children sitting in the market place, calling to one another and saying, We have piped to you, and you have not danced; we have sung dirges, and you have not wept" (Luke 7:32-33).

The Church's answer to anti-Semitism

148. To this challenge the answer of the Church is unequivocal and unchanging. Her answer is determined by no earthly policy but rather by her fidelity to the truths bequeathed to her custody by her Divine Founder, and preserved in their original purity in her bosom by the personal assistance of the Holy Ghost: truths that reveal what human reason of itself can never attain, while they reaffirm and perfect the knowledge of those truths which man's reason, devoid of passion and self-interest, can hope to reach of its own accord. Her concern is not with political victories and triumphs, not with the alignments of states and the devices of politicians; hence she is in no wise concerned with the problems concerning the Jewish people that lie within those purely profane spheres. Thoroughly aware that the great diversity of circumstances in which Jews of different countries find themselves

gives rise to very different problems in the practical order, the Church leaves to the powers concerned the solution of these problems. She insists only that no solution is the true solution if it contradicts the very demanding laws of justice and charity. Her sole care is that the custody of truth committed to her care be preserved intact and that her children be preserved against error and sin; that the principles of life taught by her Savior be carried out in their integrity; and that through her beneficent action upon earth as many souls as possible may be brought to their eternal home in Heaven. As has been well said: "Men ambition a thousand things; the Church desires but one, the salvation of souls" (E. Rodocanachi, *The Holy See and the Jews*).

Religious concern for the Jews

149. The position of the Jewish people is unique, and occupies a singular and painful place in the vast series of these historical developments. It offers the paradox of being the object of a special Providence reserved to it, above all peoples in the world; of having rejected that Providence, thereby injecting a stumbling-block of contradiction into the history of all other peoples; yet being still the object of a mysterious preservation by the same Providence of God.

The bitterness with which Christian consciousness has periodically reproached the Jewish people for their rejection of the teachings and Person of Christ, as well as for their attitude toward Christianity, and the like bitterness with which the Jewish people has responded to these reproaches, show by their very acuteness that the conflict and the issues concerned are ideological, and concern material goods less than spiritual values. The very sharpness of such reproaches testifies to the knowledge shared by all involved that man's supreme values lie in the field of liberty, with its correlative of moral responsibility for good or for evil, thereby

offering a clear, if painful, testimony to the supremacy of spiritual over material ideals as the measuring rod of human worth. The lessons drawn from this testimony demonstrate likewise how utterly incapable any philosophy that ranges merely within a bodily or material sphere is of reaching a solution to such a conflict. Both sound reason and Christian Faith bid us look to spiritual means, not to violence, force, or brutally coercive measures.

Conversion of the Jews

150. The hour and manner of the return of the Jewish people as a whole to their Father's house in the Church of Christ remains God's secret. Where such a return occurs in the case of individuals, it should come as the result not of indiscreet proselytism, and not from motives that incur even a shadow of worldly expediency or material gain, but from a conviction arising out of reflective study and freely formed in a spirit of humility and self-sacrifice. Any other supposition on the part of Christians is contrary to the express precepts of the Church; any other method on the part of those who embrace the Catholic Faith leads only to evils graver than those that arise even from an open persistence in refusing to accept Catholic teachings, since it would give rise only to hypocrisy.

Call to prayer

151. Our faith, however, bids us ever look forward to the day when again Jew and Gentile will be united in their Father's house, and to pray earnestly for the hastening of its coming. Particularly do we seek the all-powerful intercession of the Holy Mother of God, herself a daughter of Israel, that thereby, in the words of the petition presented to the fathers of the Vatican Council and signed by 570 of their number, may be fulfilled the

supreme aspirations of her own sublime canticle: "He has given help to Israel, his servant, mindful of his mercy—even as he spoke to our fathers—to Abraham and to his posterity forever" (Luke 1:54-55).

Doing the truth

152. It is clearly our duty, likewise, so to live as to facilitate that return as far as is humanly possible. This we shall do by the practice of the truth in prudence and in strict justice, as well as in abundant charity. In the cause of truth, let us encourage such works as spread knowledge and do away with calumnies, lies, and baseless recriminations. In the cause of justice and charity, the present time presents such opportunities as would have seemed unparalleled in the world's history. Defense of the natural rights of individuals and of families; care of the miserable who appeal for charity and mercy; a vigorous condemnation of anti-Semitism and racism wherever these doctrines lift their heads; and cooperation for the sake of public order with men of good will who from their hearts reject the gross errors of materialism—for these ends let us make use of our opportunities.

PART THIRD: THE CHURCH'S ACTION ON BEHALF OF THE UNITY OF MAN'S TEMPORAL LIFE

153. As We conclude this long retrospect and survey of the good and evil developments of man's social nature in our day, We can only repeat once more: "The spirit giveth life." The spirit alone can shape man's manifold capacities into a loving unity in a living diversity. Thus will the social life of man reflect its Divine prototype: "That all may be one, even as thou, Father, in me and I in thee" (John 17:21).

The Church's task: to show the way

154. From what We have already written, it is clear that the life of individuals as well as the life of the various human groups is deeply involved in the countless relationships of social life. Yet these relationships cannot be truly understood if we lose sight of the significance of all human activity in its relationship with God, man's Creator and Redeemer, a significance that derives from the unchanging plan of the Redemption, the unchanging moral order, and their application to each individual's conscience. It is the task and duty of the Church, the dignity and responsibility of the Chief Shepherd and of His brother shepherds whom the Holy Ghost has placed to rule the Church of God, to show mankind the true way to be followed, the eternal divine order in the changing circumstances of the times.

Catholic university education

155. In fulfilling this task, the teaching office of the Church counts on the support of the *universitas litterarum*, of the arts, sciences, and letters bound together by an inner unity, in order to treat so complicated a subject as is dealt with in this Letter in the comprehensive and consistent manner it deserves. It is with deep sorrow, therefore, that the Church sees the disaster that in many countries has overtaken that institution, which arose from the very heart of the unity of Western civilization. However, in those countries where it is still possible, and where no special circumstances hinder its development in the service of Catholicism, We pray that Catholics will make every effort and spare themselves no sacrifices in order to provide adequate support and achieve full development for the realization of the Catholic *universitas litterarum*. In doing so, they will be laying the foundation for true Christian leadership, conferring a supreme

good on humanity, and fulfilling an apostolic service for the Church.

156. Catholic university education is unique and distinctive because of its fullness; it embraces Truth as a whole and cannot be satisfied with half-hearted participation or with any division of that whole. Catholic education is not a mere transmission of information: it is a way of life. It is a manifestation of the Church of Christ, and thus participates in its unity and universality. It participates in the Church's unity because Catholic education considers all partial truths in their relation to Him who is the living Truth, and thus makes a living whole of every object it studies: moral life, religious orientation, intelligence, sensitivity, and imagination, even physical strength and ability. Catholic education also participates in the universality of the Church, because like the Church it addresses humanity as a whole, in time and in space. In its own way, it is a genuine spiritual city of souls.

In the spiritual whole that is Catholic university education, we find a harmonious union between two deep trends in human development. On one hand, cultural development: the unfolding of intelligence and imagination within the human person, participation in the heritage of the past, enrichment of this heritage through new and original research; on the other hand, the development of Christian character. These two trends nourish, each in its own way, the life of the Christian city. Thus the Catholic scholar who devotes many years of his life to scholarly work in libraries or laboratories, expecting neither earthly rewards nor earthly honors, is making an essential and invaluable contribution to the overall life of the Church, and consequently, to the unity of humanity.

157. With respect to this unity of the human race, which is desired by God and so battered by men, how sweet it is to savor the beauty of the Church in its admirable unity and variety—a principle of unity even for the temporal life of nations and races.

We would like to consider here one aspect of the Church to which We attach great importance: Catholic Action, as an *expression and principle of unity* in the richly diverse life of the Church, and also as a principle of unity in the temporal life of peoples, races, and states.

Catholic Action: Expression and Principle of Unity

158. By nature, Catholic Action tends toward unity, because it is Truth and Life. Its countless tasks, and its activities, which are diverse both because of the circumstances in which they are carried out and because of the character of the people who are involved in them, all contribute to the building of the Mystical Body of Christ in this world, just as the individual members of the human body all work together, each in its own way, toward the marvelous unity of the whole.

The person of the priest

159. Catholic Action finds its first and most essential manifestation in the collaboration between clergy and laity, for by its very nature Catholic Action is the aid given by the laity to the apostolate of the clergy. As a result, the clergy has very precise obligations, since it is from the bishops and priests that the laity must seek enlightenment and guidance in order to carry out its apostolate successfully. Personally, a priest doing pastoral work must be a man whose inner life deeply unites him with Christ Our Lord, for it is through his example and the influence of a priestly life that he can hope to communicate Christ's life to his people. A priest's position as spiritual guide and counselor requires him to be a man of learning, versed in the sacred sciences, devoted to a life of study, and capable of fully realizing the talents God has given him. Hence the fundamental importance, for the

work of Catholic Action, of studies that enable the young clergyman to adapt the teachings of the Gospel to the particular conditions in which he is called to work.

Thus a young priest whose youth was passed in a tranquil and pious environment may have to begin his priestly ministry in a complex industrialized community that is deeply troubled by class strife and hostile to Christianity. Another, brought up in a city, may have to work in a rural parish, with a population whose interests and occupations are completely unfamiliar to him. Or his ministry may be carried out among people of a different national or racial origin, with whose psychological problems he has no experience. Confronted by such situations, the young priest will recall that souls are not saved in the abstract, but in space and time, in the providential conditions in which God has placed them. Accordingly, he will apply himself to a systematic study of the concrete living conditions of families entrusted to his care, the various economic and social and legal institutions that affect their spiritual and temporal welfare, the mentality of those who administer these institutions, the best opportunities for the young to find congenial and useful occupation, and other such matters which, though temporal in their nature, are intimately connected with the salvation of souls. Finally, the disordered state of society requires on the part of the priest a firm grounding in the so-called social sciences, so that he can penetrate beneath the surface of the multitudinous social phenomena he encounters in his work, understand their causes, and, so far as possible, devise effective remedies for the disease.

160. In truth, the extent and difficulty of the struggle against such evils demands no small courage. If Catholic Action requires such courage in the laity, how much more is it to be expected in the priest, to whom the Holy Spirit has entrusted the teaching and care of souls! In regions where the Faith enjoys comparative freedom and Catholics are numerous and lend generous support

to the sustenance and activities of their religion, pastors may be strongly tempted to follow the line of least resistance, in a spirit of opportunism, and close their eyes to the injustices and uncharitable practices of people whose favor makes their lives easier, justifying their timidity by appealing to false prudential maxims.

Furthermore, Catholic Action requires that a priest be tactful and moderate. His sense of moderation keeps him from embarking upon futile and unrealizable schemes; tact puts him on guard against the natural human tendency to want to control everything. Rather than furthering the good, domination only stifles efforts to realize it; it substitutes an individual's personal will for the generous and spontaneous collaboration that alone promotes the Kingdom of God. A priest who exceeds the limits of the authority that his functions confer on him, who represents his personal opinions as the Church's teaching and official discipline, who considers the laity as docile instruments for achieving his own ends, may be very zealous and well-intentioned, but his attitude produces, among many deplorable results, a false conception of the Church as no more than a vast organization in which the individual layman counts for little, instead of a living body in which each Christian is a living cell.

The task of the spiritual shepherd of souls is not to produce docile servants, but rather to shape courageous men of initiative deeply aware of their spiritual responsibilities. The more obstacles stand in the way of achieving his true task, the more his zeal and his activity increase.

Universal ministry of the clergy

161. While the priest must be able to understand the members of his flock who belong to another nation or race, it is nonetheless desirable, in order to ensure the very existence of the Church and its essential development, that no large group of the faithful

be permanently deprived of the ministrations of priests belonging to their own people. We have repeatedly expressed Our opinion on this matter, not only in Our discourses, but also in an even more effective manner, by encouraging everywhere the training of an indigenous clergy, and by elevating to the lofty dignity of the episcopate priests drawn from the ranks of peoples who have only recently been won to the Faith, giving them full episcopal jurisdiction and authority. So that all groups among our Christian people may be thus provided, including groups of different racial or national origin living within a larger nation, it is indispensable that candidates for the priesthood, no matter what ethnic group they belong to, may freely enjoy the advantages of a Catholic education throughout their training, from their earliest years to their theological studies.

The shaping of consciences

162. We have already emphasized the necessity of clearly and competently teaching the people about the Church's social doctrine, the principle of true social unity. In order that the clergy may carry out with the desired competence its role of teaching the principles of Christian faith and morals, it is greatly to be desired that the problem of relations among various human groups be adequately dealt with in courses and textbooks on moral theology. This in turn means that Catholic theologians should study this problem very attentively, in the light of Christian truth, reason, and experience. If consciences are to be truly enlightened, it is imperative that all ranks and degrees of intelligence among the faithful be armed with clear ideas regarding men's mutual responsibilities and proper ways of fulfilling them. The existence and origin of natural rights, the questions of justice and charity that enter into relations among racial and national groups, the value of the human personality and the spiritual

unity of the human race are not matters that can be left to a select few; they must be made known to all Christians.

The person of the layman

163. If we consider the multitude and variety of human occupations, we quickly see that each of them offers, in one way or another, numerous opportunities for furthering unity among men. We have observed with the greatest satisfaction, over the past few years, the creation of a galaxy of specialized groups that bring men together and make it possible for Christian life to flourish in the most diverse environments of age, sex, profession, or trade. We have followed with the greatest interest the development of these associations among the youth of both sexes, and we have noted their profound influence on the spiritual regeneration of the Christian community.

Specialized movements

164. It is clear that there are human groups for which the practice of Christian religion poses particular problems that cannot be adequately resolved through the efforts of individual Christians. Hence the necessity of concerted efforts to make the value of Christian life visible to these various groups. In this way all those engaged in the same occupation can profit from their common experience, counsel each other, make available the common means of achieving common goals, and enjoy the benefits of the specialized direction of spiritual guides capable of clearly and competently applying to their particular situation the principles that should inspire their individual activity.

Formation of associations

165. Thus a great variety of organizations have been enrolled under the banner of Catholic Action, each of which devotes itself to a particular phase of the apostolate of the laity. However, it should be noted that it is essential to the concept of Catholic Action that in every case the organization is only an instrument for aiding and completing the individual action of its members. The strength of an individual's action must be in the value of his action itself, the radiation of his own personal example and influence, not in the strength supposedly created by the simple juxtaposition of a large number of individuals.

These movements may become vast, imposing organizations with hundreds of thousands of members, and their splendid demonstrations may arouse the greatest enthusiasm. It remains nevertheless true that the secret of the apostolic achievement toward which these various organizations are working remains the supernatural character of the individual action of each of their members.

Organic character of associations

166. But, it may be asked, doesn't the Christian body acquire a special beauty and power from the very multitude of those who compose it? No doubt it does, but it is not by putting vast multitudes into the framework of homogenous groups that the Christian body shows its spiritual vitality. The view that the so-called power of the masses and collective pressure are signs of spiritual vitality is alien to Christianity. No less foreign to Christian thought is the view, which reflects mechanistic-atomistic ideas, that the individual derives his spiritual dynamism from the simple fact of being integrated into a collectivity made up of numerous individuals who think and act as he does. On the

contrary, the Christian collectivity, as We have already said, draws its peculiar beauty not from the number of individuals or from their simple juxtaposition, but from the *organic* character of its composition, in which different individuals and various groups each find their proper place: "of all nations and tribes and peoples and tongues" (Apocalypse 7:9).

167. We therefore consider it of primordial importance to preserve the authentic stamp of Catholic Action on all these various organizations: it must be clear that the organization, in its constitution and in the delimitation of its field of activity, in its rules and methods of work, in its services and publications, in its leadership and administration, is only an instrument and means of aiding the individual, allowing him to fully realize his apostolate as a person and a member of the Church of Christ. Thus, although the organized movement will receive, obediently, joyously, and faithfully, all the directives of the hierarchy, whose desires and directives it will seek to fulfill, and although in addition its very nature as an organized movement makes it subject in a special way to the approval of ecclesiastical superiors, nonetheless those who belong to the organization and the superiors who sanction it must never lose sight of its essential role, in order to preserve its spontaneity and the superabundant vitality of its members, and to make of them a typical illustration of Catholic Action.

Spiritual contributions to the formation of institutions

168. The work of social regeneration undertaken by Catholic Action must not be limited to ephemeral manifestations. Its task is to build a spiritual city, and thereby to make a solid and life-giving spiritual contribution to the formation or maintenance of *social institutions* based on justice and Christian charity. History teaches that the stablest and most fruitful human institutions have

drawn their existence from the life of the Church, the mother of all civilization, as manifested in the individual lives of her children.

169. Making his spiritual influence felt on the formation or preservation of these institutions severely tests every Christian's moral courage and personal initiative. Self-interest, personal ambitions, and hopes for material gain must be relentlessly sacrificed to the common good, in order to liberate as fully as possible in each individual the energies that can be devoted to building the spiritual city. Thus while the individual's participation through his inner life and sacramental union with Christ constitute the starting point and source of Catholic Action, the realization of the Christian spirit in the socio-political and economic institutions of human society is its culmination: institutions that restore to human society its organic character.

Economic institutions

170. In Our Letters *Quadragesimo Anno* and *Divini Redemptoris*, We already mentioned the importance of providing society with sound economic institutions corresponding to the various ways economic life impinges on human activities. Only in a society whose economic structure truly corresponds to real human needs can the family more readily be freed from living conditions that wound the dignity of the human person; only in such a society can the Christian achieve his ultimate goal at the same time that he achieves his earthly destiny. This economic regeneration may lead to the creation of new social bodies or corporations that would group together all those who, in whatever way, as providers of capital, as managers, or as workers, depend on the same industry; it may also limit itself to creating new bonds of economic cooperation among the various organizations that already represent workers, management, and consumers. But the goal

always remains the same: to put unity and peaceful collaboration in the service of the common good, while at the same time satisfying individual interests as much as possible. Collaboration of this kind, clearly, truly serves society and individuals only to the extent that it is based on the authentic reality of true human needs, those of the family.

The organization: an instrument for its members

171. Moreover, these purely economic organizations must be considered in the light of the principle We invoked earlier in speaking of Catholic Action. Even when only material and economic interests are involved, it must be remembered that the organization is only a means, an instrument put at the disposal of its members. The organization does not exist in order to replace, through the magic of a fictive collective personality, the initiative, will, and intelligence of each of its members; it exists for each of its members, in order to allow each to contribute as much as he can to the common good, thanks to the advantages of mutual aid, consultation, competent guidance, and the common use of material means or intellectual abilities. Only the most lamentable disappointments, even from the standpoint of purely material welfare, can be produced by a contrary philosophy of economic organization. This has been shown by the repeated failures, in recent years, of vast enterprises of collectivization by which a government guided by militant atheism has tried to replace the moral and spiritual deficiencies of its members with the supposed efficiency of the proletarian masses.

It is not for the Church to determine the formation and type of such economic organisms. Her role here is to lay down the principles that should direct them. However, she strongly urges the faithful to study these concrete problems, not because of the

material gain they might derive from doing so, but because of their obligation to realize Christian principles in human society.

Political institutions

172. Catholic Action is not concerned with politics. However, a legitimate and very natural concern leads it to ask whether the political, juridical, and administrative institutions that incarnate state power in some way respect the rights of the human person (and the principles that should govern human relations). Each believer must therefore consider himself responsible, to the extent that he participates in their creation and functioning, for the conformity of these institutions with the requirements of natural law. These institutions include the various family assistance offices and professional organizations of all kinds: labor unions, mutual aid societies, joint commissions, chambers of commerce, municipal institutions, school boards and educational commissions, leisure organizations, health boards, international commissions, colonial administrations—in short, all the public and private institutions that affect the moral life of individuals and families. Christians who participate in any of these institutions have a serious obligation to always and everywhere testify, by the words and by their lives, to the teaching of the Master of indefatigable workers for the unity of human society.

The totality of Christian life

173. After surveying at such length the mournful factors harming contemporary society and tearing it apart, let us look for a moment on the beauty of this unity itself.

This unity is not merely the sum of the individual splendors of each of its members. The Kingdom of God draws a particular beauty from the very union of all these individuals in a

harmonious body. When pleasing traits are not bound together in a harmonious whole, their simple coexistence does not suffice to produce a beautiful countenance.

Analogy of the cathedral

174. The same can be said of the architectural splendor of the great monuments the past has handed down to us as testimonies to its faith and piety: each element contributes its beauty to a whole that transcends the beauty and perfection of these elements. Consider one of our cathedrals: each line rises into space as if it had its own life, thanks to the conjunction of stones each of which has its own perfection. A mosaic or stained-glass window expresses an image whose beauty surpasses the individual beauty of each of its parts. And in the creative imagination of the artist, although each element retains its own value, the arches and columns, the vaults and naves, the windows, mosaics, sculpted portals and capitals, the towers and the steeples, all come together harmoniously in the transcendental splendor of the whole.

175. And yet this building is only a material testimony, written in wood and metal and stone, to a still more marvelous spiritual reality: the incredible collaboration of countless minds and countless wills in realizing this gigantic work. They have come to this spiritual city, which the material edifice merely symbolizes, from the far corners of the earth: architects, designers, sculptors, and painters, masons, cabinet makers, and carpenters, with their apprentices and disciples. Often, they came from far away: they left their homelands and traveled a long time in order to contribute their bit of beauty to the ineffable adoration of God expressed by a new temple. All classes of society were represented: prelates and priests, monks and scholars, kings and statesmen, innumerable men, women, and children of the people, craftsmen, associations, and pious confraternities, all working together to erect a house of God worthy of Him.

176. It was not by stifling or mutilating the personalities of the co-workers that this sublime harmony was achieved, nor by submerging them in the anonymous collectivity or in the ideas and will of some brilliant architect whom the artists only have echoed in a servile manner. These ways of proceeding may at first seem productive; in fact, they lead to death. This is not how the miracle was accomplished, but rather through each artist's personal response to the call of the Spirit of God, which invited him to collaborate in the plenitude of his individualized activity. Not being lost in an indiscriminate collectivity, each man could draw from the depths of his personality the most perfect and spontaneous expression of the task that fell to him through his particular vocation. Thus, through the mediation of their common activity, they could offer God a worthy testimony of their obedience and love by erecting a temple to be a dwelling among us for the Eucharistic Christ, the eternal Oblation always present on our altars.

Thus each man could say of his participation in this great manifestation of collective worship: "In all things we have grown," following in that way Saint Paul's injunction "to practice the truth in love, and so grow up in all things in him who is the head, Christ" (Ephesians 4:15).

Through their inner devotion to Truth, a reflection of the Eternal Truth they sought to make manifest in their work, through their oblation in the spirit of charity, perfection, and total collaboration to the work undertaken for His sake, could these Christians not say they had found themselves in finding Christ? In Him and through Him, they discovered what the modern world is so feverishly searching for: the full development of the personality that each person has received as a gift from the Creator, and the unity in activity wherein the fullness of individual life may be achieved.

Perfecti estote . . . est, "Be thou perfect." With this call to both laity and clergy we conclude. It is the exhortation by which

Our Lord stirs us to become energetic, courageous, completely self-giving, integrated Christians. *Si spiritu vivimus, spiritu et ambulemus*: "If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk" (Galatians 5:5).

CONCLUSION: UNITY AND PEACE: FRUITS OF THE REDEMPTION

The principles that preside over the true unity and true diversity of human life may not be well received everywhere. But the unity, order, and peace of humanity impose a great burden on us. Its weight corresponds to the value of the ransom the world's Redeemer paid with his blood on the cross, compensating at the same time once and for all for the sins of politics and the culpable violations of the principles of true human unity. We believe that this peace, which is so dear to Our heart, has a firm guarantee in the love of the Crucified, who gathered together all men without exception, and moreover, that this peace exists only in this love. In any case, it is not found where man's true value is not recognized and where, consequently, no serious attention is paid to the terrible sufferings that war causes in the hearts of mothers, wives, and children, or to the sacrifices that it entails for the combatants.

Need for reparation

178. Above all it is high time to offer reparation to our Redeemer's Sacred Heart for the sins in public life committed in relations among states, peoples, nations, and races, so that the Divine wrath does not strike us with just and terrible punishments.

The unity of humanity in the Holy Mass

179. And it is high time that We recognize, more fully and more efficaciously than before, the unity of humanity in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. It is in the Mass that, since the holy Council of Trent, the great and profound tradition has become the actual reality that unites us all, unites all men: the time before Christ with the day of Golgotha, the time after Christ with the perspective opened for all of us on the end of time and the consciousness of the presence of Christ at the heart of the most urgent and heart-felt aspirations of all men, namely the redemption of our daily sins by the Holy Mass through the Sacrifice on the Cross. That is why we have in this holy sacrifice an overflowing source of grace for unity and strength for peace. In the profound words of Saint Leo, which the Church recalls on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross: "Now, too, all kinds of fleshly sacrifices are at an end. There remains but the one oblation of your body and blood. It fulfills all former types of sacrifice, for you are the true *Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world* (John 1:29). Thus you perfect all mysteries, and just as one sacrifice now replaces many victims, all nations are replaced by a single kingdom. "*Nunc etiam, carnalium sacrificiorum varietate cessante, omnes differentias hostiarum una corporis et sanguinis tui implet oblatio: quoniam tu es verus Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi; et ita in te universa perficis mysteria, ut sicut unum est pro omni victima sacrificium, ita unum de omni gente sit regnum.*"¹⁶

Therefore let our Redeemer's blood extinguish the passions of hatred and ambition among peoples, those firebrands of enmity, so that in harmony with the goal We Ourselves proposed at the beginning of Our pontificate, Christ's peace may reign in Christ's Kingdom.

in Jean-Marie Mayeur, Charles Pietri, André Vauchez, and Marc Venard, *op. cit.*, (in chap. 5, n. 6), 13-44.

2. Émile Poulat, *op. cit.*, 63-64.

3. "This love for one's country and one's race [*gens*, in Latin], which is a powerful source of many virtues and acts of heroism when it is governed by Christian law, nonetheless becomes a source of numerous injustices and iniquities if, transgressing the rules of justice and law, it degenerates into immoderate nationalism." Pius XI, *Ubi Arane Dei*, 23 December 1922, quoted by Mayeur, *op. cit.*, 22.

4. This had already been Pius X's motto: "*Instaurare omnia in Christo*," Mayeur, *op. cit.*, 22-23.

5. Virtually the same arguments concerning the unity and diversity of humanity are found in LaFarge's *Interacial Justice*.

6. See the letter from Father Kalleen to LaFarge, 27 October 1938; chap. 3, n. 8.

7. We have seen in chapter 5 that the *Osservatore romano* for 14-15 November 1938, in an article on "the very recent legislative decisions concerning marriages" was to take up the same question in the same spirit.

8. Jules Isaac, *L'Enseignement du mépris* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1962).

9. Gordon Zahn, "The Unpublished Encyclical—An Opportunity Missed," *National Catholic Reporter*, 15 December 1972, 9.

10. That is, paragraphs 72-93 of *Humani Generis Unitas*. See Pius XII, "Lettre encyclique *Sommi Pontificatus* aux patriarches, primats, archevêques et autres Ordinaires en paix et communion avec le Siège apostolique," 20 October 1939, in *La Documentation catholique* 40 (5-20 December 1939), pp. 1251-75. The passages similar to those in *Humani Generis Unitas* go from page 1259 to page 1262.

FOREWORD TO HUMANI GENERIS UNITAS

1. Probably also a partial translation into Latin, done by Father Heinrich Bacht, S.J., of which we have found no trace. Personal testimony and investigations previous to ours mention it only in passing.

2. Microf. 62.

3. An additional note written in French and typed on a separate sheet is placed at the very end of this "long" English version:

"c) We have created, or invented, for the purpose, two new expressions TOTALITY OF EXTENSION, and TERRITORIAL NATIONALITY.

"By Totality of extension (in contrast with intension), we mean more or less what the Holy Father has already indicated in speaking of objective Totalitarianism (in contrast with subjective). The *Totality of intension* is only the full expression of being itself. The state, for example, which is a totality of intension [*int*], perfectly and completely fulfills its duty as a state; in actuality it is fully what it must be in accord with its nature. The totality of extension, on the other hand, is the extension

of its activities to areas or to interests beyond its proper functions; it is Totalitarianism per se, the intrusion of the state into matters that are foreign to its nature and its rights. (N.B., for the opportunism of the Encyclical, that this totality [word struck out] of extension is not at all limited to today's so-called totalitarian states, but is found more or less everywhere, for example in public education. The creation of this word gives the Church a new weapon in the battle for freedom of conscience and the freedom of Christian education.

"It is very difficult to find an exact expression, outside of German, for the words *Volk* and *Völkchen*. In French, and in several other modern languages, the word 'people' (*people*, *popolo*) does not seem to express the idea with sufficient precision. The distinction between territorial nationality (*Völkchen*) and nation proposed here is very commonly accepted by modern authors, although the expression 'territorial nationality' is proper to the Encyclical.

"d) The treatment of the question of intermarriage between the races from a moral point of view, without limiting the essential liberties of the human Person and the freedom of the Church in this area, but also without encouraging imprudent and harmful practices, makes use of distinctions that have found much favor among several bishops who have devoted special attention to this subject."

4. An internal analysis of the contents and literary styles, handwritten annotations and deletions, typing, etc., and an external analysis of testimony by specialists and by Gundlach's collaborators (Stanton cites the correspondence of the Jesuit fathers Burkhardt Schneider, d'Ouince, Anton Rauscher, and Robert Graham). See *Authorship of the Text*, 186-94.

5. Stanton, *op. cit.*, 192-93.

6. See the discussion of Gundlach's previous writings, chap. 3.

7. Letter from H. Bacht, dated 5 March 1973, to Schwarte, who cites it in his dissertation, 78-79.

8. Rauscher, cited by Schwarte, *op. cit.*, 79.

9. Droulers, *op. cit.*, 336-37.

10. Stanton, *op. cit.*, 189-90.

HUMANI GENERIS UNITAS

1. "Thus the marvelous power of the Church to protect and maintain the civil and political liberty of peoples has always shown forth. The balance of rights, like true fraternity among men, was first proclaimed by Jesus Christ; but his voice was echoed by that of his apostles, who declared that there was neither Jew, nor Greek, nor Barbarian, nor Scythian, but all men are brothers in Christ." Leo XIII, *Libertas*.

2. See the condemned proposition XXXIX in Leo XIII, *Quanta cura*: "The state, as the origin and source of all rights, enjoys a right that is not circumscribed by any limit."

3. Leo XIII, *Quod Apostolicus*, 1:32: "The Church constantly teaches to the multitude this apostolic principle: *there is no power that does not come from God, and those that exist were established by God.*"

4. Just as once under Liberalism, today Our Predecessor's words have proven true: "And in reality, if unaided human reason alone judges between good and evil, good is suppressed along with evil... In public affairs, authority is divorced from the true and natural principle from which it derives its power to provide for the common good." Leo XIII, *Libertas*.

See *Ubi arano*, "Paying God sovereign homage, the Church recognizes that it is from Him that authority and its rights derive."

5. *Cantate Christum*.

6. *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. XIX, c. 17.

7. *De moribus Eccl.*, Lib. I, c. 30 (*Patrologia Latina*, vol. 32, c. 1336).

8. *De moribus Eccl.*, Lib. I, c. 30.

9. *De moribus Eccl.*, Lib. I, c. 30.

10. *Política*, 3:16, 12874.

11. *De Leg.*, 1:2, c. 4.

12. *Ep.* 21, *M.P.Z.* XXII, 1029.

13. *De Sermonibus Domini in monte*, I, 2.

14. *Romans* 11:15.

15. *De mor[ibus] Eccl.*, Lib. I, c. 30.

16. *Sancti Leonis Papae, Sermo de Pas. Domini*.

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